

Modern Philology

VOL. VI

July, 1908

No. 1

EDITORIAL NOTE

It is with great regret that we announce that Mr. Allen has felt himself obliged by the demands of other duties to retire from the position of managing editor of *Modern Philology*. As is doubtless well known to most of our readers the establishment of the journal was due to his energy and enthusiasm, and during the five years of its history he has borne by far the largest part of the labor and responsibility connected with it. No one who has read the five volumes produced under Mr. Allen's supervision can, we believe, fail to recognize and be grateful for the high standard of scholarship which has been maintained in them and the eagerness with which good work has been welcomed from every quarter.

This fine achievement has been made possible for him and his coeditors by the hearty co-operation of the contributors and by the constant and ungrudging assistance of the members of the Advisory Board, all of whom will surely join us in the regret that other duties have made it necessary for Mr. Allen to withdraw from the official relation to them and us which has so happily existed for these five years.

It should be added that, before resigning, Mr. Allen had sent to the printer the whole of the contents of the present number and a considerable part of the number for October, thus materially facilitating the task of his successor. For this, as well as for his unremitting devotion to the journal during the past five years, we

wish to record here our gratitude and to express our high appreciation of his services to *Modern Philology* and to the cause of scholarship in our field of work.

In consequence of Mr. Allen's resignation and some previous losses from the staff of editors, it has seemed desirable to add some new members. All of us, old members and new, hope for a continuance of the aid and sympathy given the journal so freely in the past and believe that our hope will not be disappointed. If our contributors will continue to send us their best work, we promise to find space for as much of it as possible. The existence in America of four periodicals devoted to the publication of studies in the field of the modern languages and literatures is a fact of no small moment for the promotion of productive scholarship among us, attended as it has been, not by any lowering of the standards of publication, but rather, we believe, by a constant and steady incitement to more and better work. We shall continue to strive to do our part in providing a means for the publication of some of the best.

MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS

PART II

SPIRIT AND FORM

A fundamental principle which underlies my treatment of mediaeval Latin poetry is that the material should be divided and classified according to the spirit of its content and not according to the manner of its external form. I have been so constantly occupied with this idea that I failed to notice, until my attention was recently directed to the omission by Mr. E. K. Rand, that nowhere have I characterized sharply the current practice which makes the whole corpus of mediaeval Latin lyrics owe its very existence to a progressive amplification of rhythms evolved in connection with ninth- and tenth-century sequences. I hasten to correct this fault and for the sake of convenience begin with two sentences of Wilhelm Meyer's coining which bid fair to carry desolation in their wake:

In Deutschland wie in Frankreich entwickelte zuerst die durch die Sequenzendichtung veranlasste lyrische Dichtung in lateinischer Sprache sich zu bedeutender Blüte, dann erst begann die Dichtung in französischer und in deutscher Sprache sich ähnlicher Formen zu bedienen. Gaston Paris . . . nennt diese Herrschaft der lateinischen Dichtung 'funeste;' allein wer kann sagen, ob und wie die französische oder die deutsche Dichtung sich entwickelt hätten, wenn sie das lateinische Vorbild nicht gehabt hätten?¹

I shall not occupy myself with the question, *how* mediaeval vernacular poetry would have developed if it had not possessed the Latin model. For it did have this model, it did use it, and no finite mind may determine just what would have happened if the opposite had been true. The other query, *would* mediaeval vernacular poetry have developed if the Latin model had not preceded it, seems to me equally futile. I will say, however, that it is an egregious claim to make, even by implication, for Latin

¹ Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 183.

poetry that except for it French and German lyric expression would have come to a standstill.

But a phrase in Meyer's first sentence not only merits, it demands investigation: "lyric poetry in Latin caused by the writing of sequences." This is no chance remark of Meyer's torn from its context for convenient dissection. The statement is made at the close of his well-known article on the rise of mediaeval poetry which accompanies the *Fragmenta burana*.¹ Herein he has portrayed for us the transition from old poetry to new: he tells us the worn story of how about the year 860 a monk came from Jumièges to St. Gall with an antiphonary; how his German brethren thus learned to substitute for the vowel *a* in the alleluia-melodies independent texts; how Notker outstripped all other men in the writing of beautiful sequences; how such creations became popular and strongly developed the personality of poets, giving to their work a new content; lastly, how the composition of sequences freed popular poetry from the classical straitjacket and the sorry rhythmic dress of the Carolingian age, led it back to the well-spring of all poetic beauty, to music, and thus made possible an unhampered and natural evolution of mediaeval poetry *ab ovo*, not Latin poetry alone, but French and German poetry as well.

Winterfeld believed that Meyer inverted the picture; that the sequence did not make use of secular materials, but that the secular poet, with sure instinct for what was lifegiving and enduring in conventional poetry, took possession of the sequence-forms which the church poets had created.² I believe this, and I am likewise sure that sequences did not bring about lyric poetry, but that lyric poets developed the sequence. This is, as Winterfeld suggests, no mere battle of words: it concerns vitally our entire conception of the coming-to-be of mediaeval vernacular poetry.

Meyer's contention is that the sequence, a purely practical device which substituted separate syllables for a single vowel, was the bio-germ of mediaeval lyric efflorescence: "plötzlich hörte

¹ "Wie entstand die Blüte der mittelalterlichen Dichtungsformen," *Fragmenta burana*, pp. 166 ff. Cf. also the other two studies on Latin rhythmic poetry, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, pp. 136 ff., Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

² *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, p. 73.

man statt 100 'la' einen schönen Lobgesang." Even if we wish to accept this view, that from a mnemonic system of notation there sprang the beauty of European lyric verse, we can certainly not believe this evolution a mechanical one; the miracle was effected by the genial efforts of a multitude of poets. And their personality was not developed by the sequence, as Meyer says, but their personality gave the sequence-form its material power, its life. And the sequence did not give the work of poets new content, as Meyer says, but the labor of these poets furnished the sequence with themes, motifs, and new content of every sort. For the *form* of poetry does not create the *spirit* of it; the letter of a poem does not beget the meaning of it.

At the risk of seeming trite, I must continue for a moment to say perfectly obvious things. It has been an undesirable result of certain investigations into mediaeval meters and rhythms that we have come to regard the outer garment of a Latin poem as its chief distinguishing factor. We realize that we should not do this, but we do it just the same. It is no accident of exterior garb which makes or unmakes for us the poems of Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe; not *terza rima*, blank verse, or *knüttelvers*, but the spirit and content of their thought. Why should it be different with the Latin poets of the Middle Ages?

This does not mean, of course, that it is not important for us to miss no word of the penetrating studies in which Wilhelm Meyer seeks and masters the secret of many mediaeval Latin poetic forms; he teaches us rightly that here and not "with Bartsch in the forests of the old Celts and Germans" are we to find certain of the formulae which Provençal, French, and German epic and lyric used at a later time, less widely, and with less artistic effectiveness.¹ How these forms grew in complexity and effectiveness Meyer shows us, until all the varied store was there which the mediaeval Latin lyric used, oftentimes with such seeming ease.

But never once was it the *form* of Latin rhythmic diction which was responsible for the full sheaves of story, drama, or lyric. It was the German spirit of artists like Notker and Ros-

¹ Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 170.

witha and Ekkehard and the author of *Ruodlieb* which dominated the imperfect Latin diction of their age and created a renaissance despite it, just as surely as it was a similar German spirit two centuries later that made use of a wealth of musical rhythms to set its sentimental lyric singing in, or to set into its dramas.

Throughout the foregoing study I have done what I could to separate different types of song. This can be done but rarely, and then with much hazard, from the standpoint of external form. If we judge by form alone, many of the examples I have already had occasion to cite, would be demonstrably of learned and clerical origin. For music and culture and the ability to find expression for mother-wit in poetic speech were for centuries *so far as we know* indissolubly connected with the cloister and the school, and without these institutions none knows what rhythms we might have possessed. It is Wilhelm Meyer's question over again: What would have happened, if things had happened differently?

As an illustration let us take the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus* quoted in full above. The spirit of this poem is "popular," by which I mean at this point unlearned, not resting upon classical or clerical tradition, the picture of real experience, told in terms of such simple nature-parallelism as folk-song uses. But how about the form of it? Did the author invent the meter, or did it derive directly from a church hymn? Presumably the latter, I should say. But even then we are little wiser than before. We do not know that cloister music did not as frequently refresh itself at the fountain-head of popular melody (*volksweise*)¹ as cloister poetry found similar renewal in popular poetry. We only know that such music has not descended to us from a certain time except in clerical redaction. Again, cloister music might well have made

¹ Church hymns and pious songs have been set to the music and the meters of profane and popular poetry ever since St. Jerome lived at Bethlehem, at least. From that day to this we have hundreds of recorded instances in which a popular metrical form or a secular tune has furnished the model for ecclesiastical song. Almost every renaissance of clerical poetry has derived a notable part of its inspiration and its strength from secular music. When we know that *My Jesus, as Thou wilt* is sung to the aria from *Der Freischütz*, or that *Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah* is fitted to the waltz-song from *Martha*, and remember that such has been the case among different peoples at many various times, why should we believe otherwise regarding tenth-century melodies? I do not think a bibliography at this juncture designed to show the occasional priority of popular musical forms would have any particular point as it would necessarily concern itself chiefly with other periods than the one we are considering and could therefore prove nothing circumstantially.

popular texts too difficult for general singing, just as music of a more popular sort has often given wide currency to a text which otherwise would have found small acceptance. Music has ever acted either as hindrance or solvent. Again, if we eliminate from this minstrel's song the unknown element of music, and deal with the cadence of the lines themselves, we are not sure how these should be enunciated. My own guess would be a measure of four stresses, not unlike that which Hildebrand so conveniently discovered could be imposed on most Germanic lyric verses. But this is a guess, and those may arise who find in this simple song deliberate if unsuccessful trial of quantitative stanzas.

As a matter of fact, who "invents" meters? Many poets first and last, no doubt, just as many composers invent musical settings for moods and words. But in the case of any one humble poet it is difficult to decide what is the source of a particular rhythmic expression; and the last to know the truth would often be the poet himself. Even if the *Levis exsurgit* be identical in structure with a hundred hymns of the time, we should not need to believe it secondary or imitative. We could not rightly say that "the church hymn had at the close of the tenth century won over profane song." We could merely state that certain rhythms of unknown origin were considered during this age so attractive and adequate that they clothed themes of both sacred and secular intent. Simple rhythms of whatever origin must be possessed of dormant popularity; if we learn through MSS that they were widely disseminated, then we know this popularity was actually achieved; otherwise, because of the lack of ocular evidence, we are forced to suspend judgment.

I wonder if it will be felt that the further classification of the mediaeval Latin lyric which I attempt in the following pages is vexatious. Such febrile insistence is sometimes made on apparently unessential facts that the lay-reader cannot be blamed for his suspicion that microscopic analysis of literary forms is altogether unnecessary. Were Lowell alive today he might well write an essay for which the world is waiting: "On a certain habit of hair-splitting prevalent in higher schools."

Still, difficult as it is to be sane and moderate in one's classifi-

cation, it is many times as hard not to classify. Skeptical though I am of the justice of many, nay, of most, of Jeanroy's divisions of the mediaeval French lyric,¹ it is by reason of them and of the appreciative comment necessary to uphold them that we have the best book yet written on an important subject. On the other hand, Ronca's essay on the mediaeval Latin lyric,² equipped though it is with all the apparatus of scholarship, miscarries just because it fails to distinguish clearly the various kinds of poetry he is treating.

This I must pause to prove, not only because Ronca's work has gained among students a high and not undeserved reputation, but because I can thus justify the divisions set forth in the following pages. After much investigation of Ronca's statements I believe it is fair to say that every generalization he makes regarding the mediaeval Latin lyric is blurred, since it is inapplicable to a part of the material he is considering. In his zeal to establish the fact that goliardic verse existed long before the twelfth century he sets aside the differences which mark off school-poems, songs of the wandering students, and popular balladry in Latin garb, and heaps them all together in a single hill. Thus in one place³ we find the following odd assemblage of verses grouped as "*canzoni amorose*": *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, *Jam dulcis amica venito*, the one hundred and fifty leonine distichs from Ivrea, the Latin *alba* with Provençal refrain, the three rather stupid metrical poems published by Hagen, no one of which by any possible twist of the fancy may be denominated a song.⁴ The first four of these poems I have

¹ As a pendant to this study I have already announced the essay on the Merovingian mime. The materials for this are now in hand, but their publication must await the appearance of Mr. Manly's third volume of the *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama*; for my whole idea of early minstrelsy is so colored by the basic view I have learned from him that without it my projected study would be lean indeed.

The sequel to the present study, however, will be a chapter on the mediaeval French lyric; and I shall not be deterred from writing this because of the prevalent notion that Jeanroy's *Origines* is definitive for this field. Jeanroy's statement of facts is not consonant with the situation as I am compelled to see it, and certain problems which are to me inevitable he frankly avoids. I wish to invade the domain of French lyric, foreign though it is to the conventional routine of my academic labor, in order further to prepare the groundwork for a volume on the history of the mediaeval lyric in Europe.

² "Principali elementi e caratteri della cultura e poesia latina del medio evo" (pp. 25-202 of Ronca's *Cultura medievale e poesia latina in Italia nei secoli xi e xii*).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

⁴ Cf. Hagen, *Carmina mediæ ævi*, pp. 190, 194, 206. Not the content alone, but the spirit of the content, determines the lyricality of a poem. Ronca would doubtless group with the

treated elsewhere and may besides assume to be familiar to the reader. But the three from Hagen require a passing glance, that we may realize how unlyric their spirit is.

The first, which Ronca terms "a love-poem of the tenth century"¹ is entitled *Versus ad juvenem et puellam affectuosius se invicem intuentes*, and is couched in elegiac distichs. It begins:

Occurrunt blando sibi lumina vestra favore
Et voto arrident intima corda pari.
Alternò facies sibi dant responsa rubore
Et tener affectum prodit utrimque pudor.

Where this prosaic thing originated, it is impossible to say, but the type is clear: it belongs to the endless array of practice-exercises that we meet with in the *artes dictamini*. The second piece, which Ronca calls "another absolutely obscene poem from the same codex,"² handles an artificial situation of like sort—it is a development of the theme of nun and clerk. Proof that the poem is nothing more than a dull school-task is furnished by the superscription.³

Ronca's third citation, which he says is a "spring-poem before the eleventh century,"¹ is the *De innovatione vernali*. No school subject received more stereotyped treatment than just this one, and a dozen more pleasing examples than this which Ronca summons forth from oblivion might easily be found. I give a number of lines to show how bad it is:

Quicquid hiems tamquam veteri deforme senecta
Absque decore diu fecerat esse suo,
Ver novat atque novo compubescentia flore
Imperat ad teneros cuncta redire dies.
Rupta videbantur antiqui foedera nexus
Convulsusque odiis cedere sanctus amor.
Visa elementorum communio sacra revelli
Et fetus eadem velle orare suos,

drinking-song which deals with the abbot of Angers (cf. Part I, p. 45) the twelve "carmina potatoria" of the tenth century printed in *Poetae latini medii aevi*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff. (cf. Dümmler, *Neues Archiv*, Vol. X, pp. 347 ff.). But these pieces are inept and stupid in both manner and tone, eleven of them being but short invocations to feast-days and saints' days. They are thoroughly without lyric appeal and therefore beyond the pale of our discussion.

¹ Why, I do not know; the MS in which it is found is Cod. Bern. 568 saec. XII.

² Why, I do not know; the MS in which it is found is Cod. Bern. 434 saec. XV.

³ Above the piece is written: Quedam monacha nigris vestibus induta diligens quemdam clericum volens quod ageret rem cum ea: at ille nolens se consentire peccato se realiter hiis versibus excusavit.

In veteremque pari conversa furore tumultum
 Invisam rebus accelerare necem.
 Autumnus senior gelide post credita spectans
 Semina crediderat fenus obisse suum.

I contend that such indiscriminate grouping of Latin verses as we have here found Ronca guilty of is not helpful. Nowhere in his long essay does Ronca trouble to separate the jewels of poetry from the ashes and cinders which hide them. Like Hubatsch he becomes involved in frequent contradiction because of failure to establish classes. We shall meet a like fate, unless what follows convinces the reader that to apprehend the real nature of Latin song in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries he must recognize at least three types: (1) *nugae amatoriae*; (2) *goliard lyrics*; (3) *popularizing lyrics*.

NUGAE AMATORIAE

If the light and popular ballads of love and springtime which we are now to examine owe their origin to scholastic and churchly tradition, then they were born in France. For in no other land of mediaeval Europe do we find this tradition by half so brilliant and strong. At no time during the ninth and tenth centuries was the culture inaugurated by Charles the Great entirely wanting—here and there in Germany and France we find isolated instances of its survival. But still these centuries were largely a period of social disorganization unfavorable to consistent poetic effort,¹ and the new humanism of the twelfth century does not derive its impulse directly from them. It is rather coeval with the sudden rise of the schools and of scientific studies which is so marked a characteristic of the latter half of the eleventh century in France. We read the truth of this somewhat in Latin poetry.²

¹ Cf. Maitre, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques* (1866), p. 96; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (1867), Vol. III, p. 329; Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (1877), pp. 137 et al.; *History of the University of Cambridge* (1873), Vol. I, pp. 45 f.; Bartoli, *I precursori del rinascimento* (1877), p. 15; Newman's essays "The Reformation of the Eleventh Century" (*British Critic* [1841], April), and "The Benedictine Centuries" (*The Atlantis* [1859], January); Giesebrecht, *Geschichte d. deut. Kaiserzeit*, Vol. I (1881)³, p. 329; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, Vol. I (1904)², pp. 350 ff.; Sandys, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxv and xxvi.

² If we consider the poems, say, of Abbo of St. Germain (d. 923), Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), Eugenius Vulgarius (ca. 928), Notker the Stammerer (d. 911), Froumund of Tegernsee (ca. 1013), Wipo (d. 1051), Hermann Contractus (d. 1054), Ekkehard IV (d. ca. 1060), we find that they are filled with far-fetched figures and tropes, with words that must have been intelligible to only a highly cultured audience; at every turn they show a slavish imitation of

A double reason accounts for the lack of clarity and naturalness in the earlier mediaeval Latin school-poems. First, there would be at any time before the wider dissemination of education but few men who could attain the stylistic ease of Gerbert of Rheims and Lambert of Hersfeld, to say nothing of the mastery of John of Salisbury and Abelard.¹ Secondly, in the ninth and tenth centuries, as in the sixth, there was an attempt to achieve a *dolce stil nuovo*; simplicity and correctness were taboo, bombast and abnormality were striven for.² In a phrase, we discover a wordy rhetoric where we had hoped for poetry.³

classical form and diction, or a blind adherence to other clerical models. Now it is true that a German spirit, a sort of inner warmth, occasionally glimmers in the Latin verses of Wipo and Hermann (cf. Dämmeler "Opusculum Herimanni diverso metro compositum," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIII, p. 433); true that Ekkehard IV's attractive *Casus S. Galli* has thrown such a charm about the life of an early mediaeval monastery that scholars have vied with one another in portraying in living colors the inmates as gifted poets and musicians *sine pari* (Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens* [1858], Winterfeld, *Ibergs neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, pp. 350 ff., likewise "Rhythmen- u. Sequenzenstudien" in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Gautier, *La poésie liturgique*, etc., etc.). True, of course, above all that the poet of *Waltherius* often discovers the popular German vein, that his namesake knows the *volkslieder* sung in the streets, the proverbs that fall from the lips of the laity (cf. Dämmeler, "Ekkehard IV von St. Gallen," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 8, 9). It is true that Froumund, although not the author of the *Rudlieb*, and often limping and obscure (Seiler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XIV, p. 405) is yet on occasion tender, humorous, and possessed of an effective native coarseness (Kempf, *Froumund von Tegernsee* [1900], p. 67). And so one might go down the roll, remembering Walafrid and Roswitha, Thietmar and Notker — Notker, who, whether author of the tales of the Monk of St. Gall and all that Winterfeld "instinctively" assigns to him, or not (Wattenbach, *Geschichtsschreiber d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. XXVI [1890]³, Kögel, *Litteraturgesch.*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 221, Baldauf, *Der Mönch von St. Gallen* [1903], Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 11, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, p. 73) is the unforgettable creator of the sequences, the poet who learned of the lowly minstrel as well as of the MSS of the cloister-school. But, important as all this and all like this is for the story of German life and literature, the form of these Latin school-poems is apt to be crude, unbending, artificial, they are the outcome of toil and not talent, they are so colorless and general (with but few exceptions) as to speak of no particular time or place, often they are so tortuous that we may not even guess as to their intent.

¹ Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (1898), Vol. II, pp. 707, 750 ff.; Deutsch, *Peter Abälard* (1883), pp. 62 f.; Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 498, 509, 517.

² Cf. Gautier, *La poésie religieuse dans les cloîtres des ix-xi siècles* (1887), pp. 38 ff.; Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. VII (1889), pp. 10 ff.; Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques*, pp. 238 ff. Norden (*op. cit.*, p. 754) does not spare the so-called tropes and prosae of the tenth and eleventh centuries when he says: "They belong to the most hair-raising productions ever composed in the Latin language; fustian and eccentricity celebrate their bacchanalian orgies. The one thing comparable to them are the *Hisperica famina*." Cf. Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus* (1893), pp. 291 ff.; and on the general matter of cryptic Latin expression, Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos* (1845), pp. 22 f.; Goetz, "Über Dunkel- und Geheimsprachen," *Sitzungsber. d. sachs. Gesellschaft* (1896), pp. 62 ff. For a convenient survey of Latin literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries cf. Sandys, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxvi, xxvii.

³ Ecclesiastics and schoolmen had, of course, no such conception of the mission of poetry as prevailed in a later age. Verses and letters were written to gain fluency of expression in the Latin tongue, to inculcate grammatical principles, to acquire an epistolary

But when the new time appears a comparative freedom of movement is manifest. An awakened consciousness expresses itself in verse which speaks of the world about it; the poet has ceased in some measure to be the artisan, he is more the artist. He is concerned with the portrayal of personal thought and experience, his literary traditions are those of his own day, the content of his work is warmer and more subjective, the pressure of the age molds his material into new forms. An individuality confronts us, and not a monk.¹

And so it is that we now meet with a more iridescent poetic language; one that is still at times forced or even vitiated, but yet succinct and striking, one that is by turn solemn and passionate, simple and wanton, joyous and abandoned.² Poets begin to believe

style, etc. The so-called *dictamina* were decked out with every sort of pompous quirk and flourish (cf. Zarneke, *Sitzungsber. d. sächs. Gesellschaft* [1871], pp. 34 ff.; Wattenbach, *Archiv f. österr. Geschichte*, Vol. XIV, pp. 854 ff.; *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akademie* [1872], pp. 594 ff.; *Berliner Akademie* [1892], pp. 91 ff.; Rockinger, *Quellen u. Erörterungen*, Vol. IX [1863]; Mari, *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina* [1899]; Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 953 ff.). Likewise Latin verse-making either had a purely practical aim or was but a sort of play in academic metrics. Content mattered little, formula was all. A flowery diction was attempted, verses were overloaded with scholastic erudition till they staggered and fell, and even in the slightest structures, such as epitaphs and inscriptions, we constantly meet most unlikely quotations from the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Ars amandi* (Steinmann, *Die tituli und die kirchliche Wandmalerei* [1892]; Dresdner, *Kultur- u. Sittengesch. d. ital. Geistlichkeit*, pp. 202 ff.). Dresdner says: "Despite the constant manufacture of verses these centuries are wretchedly poor in poetry as few others have been." For an outline sketch of transitional Latin poetry cf. Norden, "Die latein. Lit. im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Part I, division VIII (1905), pp. 374-411; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 323; Wattenbach, *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad.* (1891), p. 97; Langlois, *Notices et extraits*, Vols. XXXIV and XXXV; Mari, *Roman. Forschungen*, Vol. XIII, pp. 883 ff.

¹ Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 323.

² Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, p. 324. Seiler in his review of Voigt's *Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Tierage* (*Anzeiger f. d. Alt.*, Vol. V [1879], p. 102) rightly considers the animal tales and fables of high importance for the history of mediaeval intellectual life. He says: "These poems show the seeds of a thoroughly new spirit. Elsewhere in the twelfth century we find, it is true, enthusiastic religious ardor, the simple and credulous narrative of sacred story, an earnest and punitive morality; but in our poems there is no word of all this. In its place there appears an insistence on the right of subjective appetites and views which is quite unheard of in this time: whatever is pleasing is permitted. An ironic portrayal of self forms the innermost kernel of these verses and despite the rhetorical art and artifice which fills them there sometimes peer forth from such witty and coruscating lines the well-known features of Sir John Falstaff ironed into a smooth but unfelt solemnity. It is the same spirit which breathes yet more boldly and boisterously in the songs of the wandering students." Longer pieces which betray the like penchant for didactic allegory and satire parallel these shorter efforts: cf., for example, the *sermones* of Amarius (ca. 1046), the *Speculum stultorum* of Nigel Wireker (ca. 1190), and the *Architrenius* of Jean de Hauteville (ca. 1181); Francke, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, Vol. XI (1890). For Juvenal in the Middle Ages, cf. *Anz. f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit* (1871), p. 232: *magis credunt Juvenali quam doctrinae prophetali*, the bibliography cited by Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), pp. 619 f., and Hild, *Bulletin mensuel de la faculté des lettres de Poitiers* (1890 f.).

themselves the favorites of the muses; they are convinced of immortality.¹ Gröber is doubtless right in believing that this enlightenment first came in the northwestern provinces of France—in the ecclesiastical domain of Tours—and spread soon thereafter to Normandy, England, and Germany. The Provençal lyric felt the breath of it, and a quickened pulse beats in the work of French and Anglo-Norman poets like those already mentioned in an earlier chapter on the goliards, like Hugo of Orleans and Baudri of Bourgueil, and others too numerous to mention. Suddenly the almost emptied lists are thronged by a newly marshaled legion of poets whose very number bespeaks strength.²

The transition from such poetry as this to twelfth-century love-songs of MSS like Cambridge and St. Omer, Queen Christine and Benedictbeuern, would now seem easy, in a sense inevitable. The mystery attending on the dawning of Latin *minnesang*, like that of German love-poetry some fifty years later would now appear to be explained away. We have but to wait a little while and this Franco-Latin poetry just described will have crossed the German borders with the student and clerk who is retracing his homeward steps;³ and no German clerk of the day was considered sufficiently cultured without a training at the French schools. We need therefore not be surprised to find this poetry a little later serving the uses of lighter Latin verses which are Teutonic in feeling and in imagery, and even pointing the way to a subsequent body of vernacular verse. And thus we might travel blithely from Abelard's school on Mont Ste. G  nevieve via Bavarian-Latin poets like the authors of certain poems in the *Carmina burana* straight to the lyrics of Walther von der Vogelweide. Why not? Literary history has had to chronicle stranger journeys. And we might nod our heads in sleepy acceptance of this *empfindsame reise* except for one thing:

¹ Peter of Blois is a child of his age when he says: "Nostra etiam scripta quae se diffundant et publicant circumquaque, nec inundatio, nec incendium, nec ruina, nec multiplex saeculorum excursus poterit abolere."

² Confronted by these facts Gobhart (*Les origines de la renaissance de l'Italie*, 1879) asks plaintively: "Why was Italy and not North France the cradle of the Renaissance?"

³ "Vom Rheine her," said Scherer (*Gesch. d. d. Dichtung*, p. vii), "wirken fr  nz  sische Einfl  sse auf Geistliche, Spielleute und Ritter. Sie dringen langsam die Donau hinunter: zuerst fr  nz  sische Theologie; dann fr  nz  sische Epik; zuletzt fr  nz  sische Lyrik."

When we ask, with Reinmar of Brennenburg: "Wa sint nu alle die von minnen sunge?" the answer is: "So far as we may learn, no known Latin poet of the twelfth century ever wrote a love-song." In this matter Venantius Fortunatus and Alcuin, Walafrid Strabo and Paul the Deacon, Æthelwulf and Theodulus are as much responsible for our Bavarian love-songs written in Latin as are any of the northern French poets who participated in the twelfth-century revival of learning. Let us see.

Adam of St. Victor wrote no profane lyrics; he remained all his life single to the sacred muse. Hildebert of Tours was doubtless the best-known poet of his time, but in all his *carmina miscellanea* there is no erotic lyric verse. He possessed coolness, elegance, and poise. His were a fatal surety of diction and flexibility of form; and yet the best of his odes, like those to the Countess Adèle of Blois and Queen Mathilde, are types of eulogistic writing without the direct and personal plea. They represent but the farthest reach of *stammbuchspösie*.¹

Then there is the story of how Bernard of Clairvaux was given in his youth to the writing of worldly verses and prankish songs, but we may not read from this that their burden was the passion of love. Berengar who is sponsor for the tale refers to them as "tilts of rhythmic poetry, *tours de force* of malice and raillery."² This is as we should expect.³ Nor should we imagine that the

¹ Cf. Duperron, *De venerabilis Hildeberti vita et scriptis* (1855); de Deservillers, *Hildebert et son temps* (1873); Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin* (1898); V. LeClerc, *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XI², pp. 20 ff.; Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert* (1882). Subjective as Hauréau's criticism often is, it is quite as convincing as that of Pascal ("Le miscellanea poetique di Ildeberto" (*Poesia latina medievale* [1907], pp. 5-68), who, while he agrees with Colucci (*Un nuovo poema latino dello xi secolo* [1895], pp. 29 f.) that a mediaeval poet should not be censured for occasional lapses from good taste, still adjudges Hildebert no better an artist than Marbod, Gerald of Barri, Matthew of Vendome, and others.

² Hauréau would reason that such poems were in part at least love-songs (*Poèmes attribués à S. Bernard*, p. iii). He cites the decree forbidding Cistercians to write rhythmic verses: "monachi qui rythmos fecerint ad domos alienas emittantur, non reversuri nisi per capitulum generale," and remarks: "By reading some collection of these verses, as, e. g., that of the monks of Benedictbeuern, one readily understands how it one day became necessary to condemn so great license, after it had been tolerated so long." The facts do not warrant this statement. First, the Benedictine monks composed few, if any, of the songs in their MS; second, how can one argue from Cistercian and Clunian monks in twelfth-century France to Benedictines of thirteenth-century Bavaria, especially when the first term of the comparison is so vague a factor?

³ For many passages in Bernard's letters evidence his aptitude for keen satire, and one at least shows him cognizant of the Goliath songs. Walter Mapes in his *De nugis curialium* speaks of the epistle which says: "Peter Abelard stalks ahead like full-armed Goliath

moduli of Walter of Chatillon "which resounded through all France" were tender love-songs. Again as in the case of Bernard a biographer tells us that Walter "*conposuit cantilenas musicas*."¹ And Schreiber, following a hint of Giesebrecht's, assigns to him certain of the St. Omer songs because of their correspondence in diction and manner with some passages of Walter's longer and more earnest satirical narratives. But before we agree to this we must remember that in the Middle Ages musical songs were apt to be anything rather than amatory lyrics, that verbal correspondence by no means indicates borrowing from a particular author in a time and in a medium where set phrases necessarily predominate.²

I have chosen the four poets Adam and Hildebert, Bernard and Walter, because they are considered to be the greatest Latin poets of the twelfth century whose names we know. But I have also examined the poetical writings of many others, such as Serlo³

before his squire Arnold of Brescia." Cf. *S. Bernardi opera* (1726), Vol. II, col. 183; Phillips, *Walter Map* (*Wiener Sitzungsber.*, Vol. X [1853], p. 333—reprint, p. 17).

¹ Cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 23, n. 2.

² There is no good reason for assigning all the St. Omer songs (*Archiv. f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII) to a single author, just because some of them are similar in diction. Nor need we believe the learned professor and author of the *Alexandreis* wrote them, even if they do here and there bear a certain likeness of phrasing to the *Confessio Goliae* and to other poems thought by some to be the work of Walter (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. VI [1893], pp. 292 ff.). The St. Omer songs are none of them simple as some of the *Carmina burana* are; one and all they display the culture and taste of school-products. They therefore show in large measure, exactly as we should expect them to, the same technique and in places almost identically the verbiage of the greater narrative and satirical poems of the goliards. It is at first, I admit, confusing to discover so many coincidences of thought and expression among the more artificial verses of mediaeval schoolmen and wandering students. But the commonplaces which Schreiber industriously cites (*Die Vagantenstrophe*, pp. 23 f., 35 f.) are not necessarily proof of identity of authorship, if we recall that in such poetry the canons of scholastic taste produced an astonishing uniformity. Tricks of speech, conventional imagery, a fixed figurative mold, similarity of view-point, tone, and melody, scarcity of adequate metrical models—all these causes induced a monotony of expression that would be inexplicable, but that we know it was the direct outgrowth of school routine and plagiarism. Again and again mediaeval sermons, letters, poems, nay, whole books, have been accredited to one schoolman or another on the basis of style and diction, only to discover at the last that what had seemed to be a safe foundation for such ascription is naught but quiescent. Many a deft line of Hildebert's is in the *Anthologia latina*, many a dramatic sermon which seems to breathe the very life of Paris is the death-mask of Seneca. Why try to specify what all students know? But, on the other hand, why base arguments on this or that supposed passage of Walter when the next moment may show it to be derived from Lucan?

³ Before his conversion Serlo was the author of many licentious verses, some of which are known to us (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. I [1890], pp. 313, 323), but interesting as he is as a commentary on the school life of his day, there is nothing in his metrical verses devoted (cf. *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions*, Vol. XXVIII, Part II, p. 242) to the praise of one maiden and one embrace, or to the tale of how his love prefers one deed to many words, which leads us even dimly to suspect this master of arts of a musical song.

of Wilton, Gerald¹ of Barri, Baudri² of Bourgueil, Peter³ of Blois, Reginald⁴ of Canterbury, Henry⁵ of Huntingdon, and many other poets who have been fabled to write *cantilenae* of the popular and singable sort.⁶ Besides this, I have searched through metrical

¹ If Gerald really wrote poetry more lyrical in quality than the *Descriptio cujusdam puellae* (cf. Part I, p. 34, n. 1) or the distichs in which he pleads with Reason to aid him in overcoming his desire for the maiden he surprises at her bath, it is lost to us. This is not likely, for Gerald himself, anticipating the judgment of posterity, collected all his letters, poems, and speeches into one book, not even neglecting to write an autobiography (*Giraldi opera*, ed. Brewer, 1861 f.). No attempt at sincerity characterizes his verses; in epigrammatic measures he toys with any and every theme—whether it be the girl Laetitia or the wrong employment of *utraque*.

² No rhythmic songs ascribed to Baudri are extant, but his epistle to Emma (No. 215) is a new proof of the success with which certain churchmen cultivated Latin poetry toward the end of the twelfth century. It gives us a riant picture of the landscape of Bourgueil:

Attamen iste locus foret olim vatibus aptus,
Dum musae silvas solivagae colerent.
Nam prope prata virent, illimibus humida rivis,
Prataque gramineae flore foveant oculos.
Et virides herbas lucus vicinus amoenat.
Quem concors avium garrulitas decorat.
Hic me solatur tantummodo Cambio noster,
Cujus saepe undas intueor vitreas.

Romania, Vol. I (1872), p. 45; Delisle, *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 3^e série, Vol. XXVIII (1871); Pasquier, *Un poète du x^e siècle* (1878); Wattenbach, *Berliner Akademie* (1891), p. 16.

³ So much has been falsely attributed to Peter of Blois that it is not safe often to characterize his writing, but except for a rhythmic conflictus between the flesh and the spirit and a few metrical lines on wine and beer we have nothing left of the poems he refers to in his letters. A single excerpt will suffice (*epistola lxii*): "Quod autem amatoria juventutis et adolescentiae nostrae ludicra postulas ad solatium taediorum, consiliosum non arbitror, cum talia tentationes excitare soleant et fovere. Omissis ergo lascivioribus cantilenis, pauca quae maturiore stylo cecini tibi mitto, si te forte relevent a taedio et aedificent ad salutem." Cf. Du Ménil (1847), pp. 151, 201.

⁴ Cf. *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XIII (1888); Wright, *Biographia Britannica literaria* (1846), Anglo-Norman Period, p. 78; *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (Rolls Series, 1872), Vol. II, p. 262; ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.* (1899)², p. 153. A most charming song is the poem in praise of Reginald's birthplace, Faye-la-Vineuse:

Fagia, si loquerer linguis, et millia nossem
Plectra, prius morerer quam singula scribere possem.
Fagia, dum calidis sol curribus occidet undis
Ceruleae Thetidis, hostes mucrone retundis.
Fagia, donec aper silvas, et flumina pisces,
Et virgulta caper repetent, tu crescere discis.
Fagia, donec apes cithisum, juvenemque puella,
Eurieneque dapes amat, ardes vincere bella.

⁵ No amatory verses of Henry's are left us, unless we would call by this name the tender epigrammatic couplets of his younger days like:

Qui tenerorum vulnus amorum non reveretur,
Innumerorum tela dolorum perpetuetur.

Cf. *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. II, pp. 163 ff.

⁶ The light poems of Stephen of Orleans were undoubtedly satirical in strain; cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 23; and Du Ménil (1847), p. 151, who gives quotations to prove this point. We need not halt further to extend our list of churchmen who wrote goliardic songs in their unregenerate days, for the tale is ever the same. Odo of Orleans and Godefrid of Rheims were mere *gelegenhedsdichter*; it was satire Pierre of Corbeil composed in his youth; cf. Dreves, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Vol. XLVII (1894), p. 576; Chereest, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de l'Yonne*, Vol. VII (1853), p. 35; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, p. 281. The *nguae amatoriae* which Leland ascribes to Joseph of Exeter were doubtless no more lyric than Hildebert's and surely not so graceful.

poems of every kind which might be suspected of containing, or at least suggesting, lyric material: Fulbert of Chartres, Arnulf of Lisieux, Matthew of Vendome, Geoffrey¹ of Vinesauf, Marbod of Rennes, Bernard of Morlaix, etc. Uncharted seas of metrical lines dealing with love and women, the joys of the cup and of gaming, spring landscape and winter sorrow, have also been navigated, for I could not banish the fearful thought that any moment might bring in sight the land where was the sought-for lay of love, even if the poem but dimly shadowed forth the nebulous horizon of it. I shall of course not stop to publish the whole philological log of this journey, for it is only the record of continued disappointment. The colophon of all is: no matter how unsparing the search, there is in the known and unknown Latin school-poems of the twelfth century no simple, rhythmical lay of love.

As to Abelard—I hesitate. His songs in the lighter manner caught, we are told, the ear of the street and the market-place. We have absolutely no proof that they were not written in French instead of Latin, except that a chance utterance of Abelard's informs us that the vernacular jargon was distasteful to him. But suppose that they were in Latin. The statement as to their popularity comes from not unprejudiced sources: either Abelard *loquitur*, and his vanity was not exceeded even by his dialectic dexterity, or it is Heloise that is speaking, with the accustomed ardor of her uniquely passionate temperament. If Heloise is bearing witness of her own personal observation, let us remember that her environment was entirely a clerical and cultured one.² So many students had gathered to listen to her master that Rémusat can soberly claim the pupils of Abelard outnumbered the other citizens of a town. They and their camp-followers and parasites were dominated by the brilliant figure of Abelard, blinded

¹ Whose real name seems to have been the cacophonous "de Cumeselz" (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXXIV, ii, p. 427; Hamilton, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, Vol. XXVIII (1907), p. 463.

² The story runs that Heloise when standing before the altar at which she took the veil sobbed forth the protest of Lucan's Cornelia (*Pharsalia*, Bk. viii):

o maxime conjux!
O thalamis indigne meis! Cur impia nupsi,
Si miserum factura fui?

Cf. Ronca, *Cultura medievale*, p. 130. Whether we credit this tale or not, it is quite in accord with what we know of the temper of the age.

by his romantic liaison with the mediaeval Hypatia. Very likely they passed his songs from lip to lip like flame. But still there are serious reasons for doubting that these lost *amatoria* would afford us a vision of a new world of erotic lyric singing. For one, I should never seek for them with Ehrenthal among poems like the *Hebet sidus*.¹

Let us pause a moment to visualize the matter. Suppose that Adam of St. Victor *had* been discovered to be the author of profane love-lyrics, what should we know before we had ever seen them? We should know that one so overfond of displaying feats of skill in versification, of prodigally accumulating and curiously interlacing his rhymes, would never overcome himself and appear a Villon, no matter how perfect his mastery of the forms he used. Or tell us that Hildebert is the author of newly discovered rhythmic pieces on the theme of love, and what shall we anticipate? We shall expect again to meet the classical coolness of an elegant didacticism, the euphuistic statement of an Aramis among churchmen, but not a single melting love-lyric from the gentle prelate who has already filed ten thousand verses smooth. Now if one should say that the composer of a letter to Astrolabius, the author of cut-and-dried *planctus* on Old Testament subjects, the writer of ninety hymns and sequences that breathe but the lifeless excogitations of a theological wit—that some love-songs by this man had just been discovered, who would hurry to their perusal? He who had yawned over sacred pieces that are woefully prosaic in conception and imagery,² he who had wondered at the strange contrast such hymns offer to the intense beauty of St. Bernard's? Scarcely.

Three notable Latin poets remain, however: Primate, whom we may now know in part at least as Hugo³ of Orleans, Archpoet, who

¹ *Studien zu den Liedern der Vaganten* (1891), pp. 51.

² Wilh. Meyer asserts that Abelard belongs among the most artistic poets of his age, but later on restricts this statement to the forms in which he composed his *planctus* (*Ges. Abhandl.*, Vol. I, pp. 341, 357). Traube likewise speaks of the "formgewandten Abelard" when referring to Dreves' *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (1891). But it is easy to overestimate the poetic value of the almost numberless additions which twelfth-century churchmen made to hymnals and antiphonaries (cf. Chevalier, *Poésie liturgique* [1893], Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* [1892]).

³ One cannot read without a thrill Wilhelm Meyer's remarkable study of the Primate, Hugo of Orleans (*Göttinger Nachrichten* [1907], pp. 75-111, 113-75). A new poet and a new

should be a German if only for his *meum est propositum*, and scapegrace English Hilary. But still we cannot speak of a tender love-song. In Primate and Archpoet both we find a satire that burns, a humor that riots, a deftness and verve of narration that brings the scene clearly before us with a few bold strokes. And these are things which pave the way for a certain sort of lyric verse, although they never attain to it unless the superadded touch be given. Where among all the pieces of Goliard and Archpoeta, Primas and Walter of Chatillon, Walter Mapes¹ and Philip of Grève, do we cull out a love-lyric? The most that can be said of such a lyric in connection with these narratives filled with pungent irony, cynicism, and invective, is that they are at times so personal as to be lyric in their general tone, so genial that we would not willingly deny to the age that bore them a softer accompaniment of love-song. And this existed in fact, as we know, but its authors, like those of popular poetry the world over, are unknown to us.

type of poetry is there discovered to us—we could do without this MS of Oxford verses as little as we could surrender the Cambridge songs or the Benedictbeuern pieces. With masterful touch Meyer unrolls before us the picture of Hugo and his environment. A small, ugly figure—he calls himself Zacchaeus—Hugo is the master of a biting wit, a termagant for temper, but sympathetic with distress, an inveterate beggar, grumbler, gambler; versed in all the lore of the schools and yet a genial poet who knows on occasion how to avoid pedantry and to depict living scenes in a fashion remarkably natural, bluff, and popular. Clearness of expression and an abundance of enlivening detail unite to lend many of his verses a unique warmth and strength. A creature of contrasts: master of smooth hexameters and flawless rhythms, author of mordacious and rough verses mixed of French and Latin; now a conscious poet of elegant diction, now spewing forth nastiness that would shame a gamin of the streets—such Wilhelm Meyer shows him to be, with every shading that combined erudition, acumen, and intuition can disclose. Born toward the end of the eleventh century, some sixty years older than the Archpoet, Hugo does not attain the latter's profundity of thought and emotion; a certain splendor and richness of imagery which characterize the archpoet's efforts are lacking in the Frenchman. But on the other hand there is no trace in Hugo of the learned professor and poet, as in Walter of Chatillon; he is simple and humane as none other of his time.

If such a one as this has left us no lyric love-song of tender import, but contents himself where women are concerned with either a satirical bow or with the railing and bawdy utterance of the brothel, should we dim our eyes seeking through all the amatory pieces of school and church in twelfth-century France for anything more than graceful ode, *gelegenheitslied*, or dedicatory distich? It is labor lost to rummage through a haystack for a needle, unless we believe at least a pin will reward our pains.

¹ "If, as is still possible," says Saintsbury (*History of Criticism* [1900], Vol. I, p. 470, note), "and most probably can never be disproved, Walter Map fashioned the perfect Arthur stories by dint of combining the Lancelot-Guinevere romance and the Graal legend, composed the *De nugis* and wrote an appreciable quantity of the goliardic poems, he will run Chaucer hard in all but the claims impossible to his time. But the 'if' is a big if." How large an "if" is made clear by Sandys, who remarks that twelve elegiac Latin verses comprise "almost the only certainly genuine product of Map's muse that has survived;" cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I (1907), p. 210.

Last not least is Hilary. I find no reason why we should not regard him as the typical *gelegenheitsdichter* of his time in the northern French schools. He was a student of Abelard's, the gift of lyric song as it was understood in his day was strong within him. The phrases of his cult were at his finger-tips. A sense of form rare in the measures of the age characterizes his work, an easy, at times insouciant grace; poetic instinct. He had no aversion to French refrains—Hilbert himself betrays no greater smoothness of rhythm. Until new light is given us we must believe his lines the pattern of the new school-lyric with its Mariolatry made over into *minnedienst*, its conventional rhymed letters to titled blue-stockings,¹ its frank avowal of preferring Ganymede to Hebe. First then let us examine this type of gallant versification, that we may the better appreciate the difference between it and certain ballads of love and springtime found in the *Carmina burana*.

In its inception at least mediaeval Latin school-poetry was satirical rather than lyrical, moralizing rather than descriptive, declamatory and not the expression of individual feeling. Just as it had been the custom in older monastery schools to read long poems treating dully of the viciousness of the world, so at stated intervals when the students of French and English schools assembled for disputation with their teachers we know that poems were presented in which various orders of society and different sects were made to feel the lash of a keen satire. Cynicism soon

¹ Cf. Baudri's epistles to Cecile, Muriel, Agnes, Emma, Beatrix, Constance; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores coactanei*, Vol. IV (1641), pp. 274 ff.; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXVI, coll. 1181-1208; Delisle, *Romania*, Vol. I (1872), pp. 42 ff. Certain of the twelfth-century *billets doux*, despite the conventional nature of their content, are well worth remembering. I quote from Hagen (*Carmina medii aevi*, p. 201) the tender note to Juliana, by an unknown author:

Carmina missa gravis mihi sunt fomenta caloris:
Totus in accenso pectore saevit amor.
Nuper erat risus mihi missi carminis actor,
Cum Veneris tardam saepe rogaret opem.
Spernebam Venerem, saevosque Cupidinis arcus,
Non expertus adhuc posse, Cupido, tuum,
Indignata Venus zelo me fixit acuto:
Vulneris impatiens sentio, quid sit amor.
Si medicina queat tantum lenire dolorem,
Sola potes dubiae ferre salutis opem.
Mellea verba tuae, nisi fallant dissona, menti
Languenti medicum te, Juliana, dabis.
Tam dulci pretio tibi me firmabis amicum,
Moribus, aetate, nobilitate parem.
Nos ita consimiles, ut mutui uniat ignis,
Elige me solum, quae mihi sola places.
Et quia nulla domus nostris conspectibus obstat,
Aspectu recrees lumina nostra tuo.

came to the fore at such occasions as William Fitz-Stephen, for example, informs us:¹

Sunt alii, qui in epigrammatibus rythmis et metris utuntur vetere illa triviali dicacitate, licentia Fescennina socios suppressis nominibus liberius lacerant loedorias jaculantur et scommata, salibus Socraticis sociorum vel forte majorum vitia tangunt vel mordacius dente rodunt Theonino audacibus dithyrambis. Auditores,

multum ridere parati,

Ingeminant tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.

When we remember that even the shorter school-poems were prepared with a view to recitation rather than singing, we find a quick explanation for much of the figurative imagery and scaffolding that the lyric pieces betray. Heaping-up of words, citations of classical analogues by the score, digressive reminiscence of biblical story, far-fetched paronomasia, constant allusion to school-exercises and study—these are the things that find their background in the aula and not in outdoor life.²

The Latin erotic lyric, in so far as it was the product of the schools, did not take its origin from these longer songs of learned and cynical import. But it was at first conditioned by the same custom and environment, it sprang from like authors, it leaned on school tradition.

Hilary was a young Englishman³ who studied with Abelard at

¹ Cf. Wright, *Biographia*, p. 384; Hubatsch, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (1876), Vol. III, p. 1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 212; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 275.

² Even the so-called *Comœdiæ* were written in distichs and intended for reading or at most for reciting; they are as much book-poetry as the legends of Roswitha and are not to be confused with dramas which were performed, like the Mysteries derived from the liturgy, or, on the other hand, the living and political drama of Antichrist. Cf. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. d. Mittelalters* (1890), Vol. I; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1893), Vol. I; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage* (1903), Vol. II, pp. 208 ff.

³ Duchesne, who first published one of Hilary's songs (*Abaelardi opera*, ed. Amboeus [1616], p. 243b), does not deal with his nationality. Mabillon thought him English (*Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, Vol. V [1713], p. 315); a view adopted in *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XII (1763), p. 255. Champollion-Figeac hints that Hilary is French (*Hilarii versus et ludi* [1838], p. vii) and Hubatsch agrees with him (*Lat. Vagantentieder* [1870], p. 10), adding that the grace and smoothness of the poet's diction would have been remarkable in an Englishman of his day(!). Leyser (*Historia poematum* [1741], p. 416) and Gröber (*Grundriss*, pp. 347, 355 f., 396, 421, 424-26) do not refer to the place of his birth, but Wright (*Biographia*, p. 91) and Schofield (*History of Eng. Lit.*, pp. 66, 67) decide for England. Sandys is non-committal. He says that Hilarius "is supposed to have been an Englishman" (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 212).

For English origin speaks the fact that five of Hilary's twelve lyric pieces are addressed to persons of English birth: Eve, Rose, William of Anfonia, and two English boys. Hervey

Paraclet and Quincey. He wrote twelve poems which have come down to us:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Evae virginis epicedium</i> | 6. <i>Ad Petrum Abelardum</i> |
| 2. <i>Ad sanctimoniam nomine Bonam</i> | 7. <i>Ad puerum Andegavensem</i> |
| 3. <i>Ad sanctimoniam nomine Superbam</i> | 8. <i>Caliastri laudes</i> |
| 4. <i>Forte ad eandem</i> | 9. <i>Ad Guillelmum de Anfonia</i> |
| 5. <i>Ad Roseam</i> | 10. <i>Ad puerum Anglicum</i> |
| | 11. <i>Ad puerum Anglicum</i> |
| | 12. <i>De papa scholastico</i> |

The titles of eight of these suffice to indicate the nature of their contents. No. 1 is a flabby and conventional dirge of forty quatrains uninteresting save for the light it throws upon the character of Hilary's scoffing fellows: Eve dwelt alone with the hermit Hervey, asseverates the poet, yet without sin:

Ibi vixit Eva diu cum Herveo socio.
 Qui hec audis, ad hanc vocem te turbari sencio.
 Fuge, frater, suspicari, nec sit hic suspicio:
 Non in mundo, sed in Christo fuit hec dilectio.

Ille sibi serviebat tanquam sue domine,
 Et vicissim Eva sibi sub ancille nomine.
 Mirus amor viri talis atque talis femine,
 Qui probatus et repertus omni sine crimine!

No. 6 is a prayer to Abelard not to retire to Quincey (10 quatrains with French refrain); No. 8 is a potboiler in praise of the charms and the wines of Chalaute, written presumably in

of the *Evae epicedium* is likewise an English reclus. We know that there were many English novices in France at this time; cf. a letter of Geoffrey of Vendome (*Epistolae*, ed. Sirmondo [1610], p. 228; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLVII) in which he complains that unworthy English clerks have been sent to his monastery. Why deny any of these novices grace and smoothness when they are of the race that is soon to produce the mature work of John of Salisbury, Walter Mapes, and Gerald of Barri? A final reference to the English occurs in a line of the *Depapa scholastico*: "Papam tremit Gallus et Anglicus."

The presence of French refrains in two of Hilary's songs has strengthened the opinion of some as to his French origin, but a moment's reflection shows the untrustworthiness of this prop. Macaronic song was the rule and not the exception in a society composed of members from every race in Europe—besides which, since the Norman conquest French was the birthright or the acquirement of all cultured Englishmen. Who can determine the author of the following song:

Scripsi haec carmina in tabulis.
 Mon ostel est en mi la vile de Paris:
 May y sugge namore, so wel me is;
 zef y deze for love of hire, duel hit ys.

Cf. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (1842), p. 64; ten Brink, *Geach. d. engl. Lit.* (1899)², Vol. I, p. 354.

payment for food and lodging (9 quatrains); No. 12 is an encomium of the scholastic pope, a figure having to do with one of the scholars' revels. Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11 are odes to boys after the manner of the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, unworthy of mention except for the scholastic tradition which they mark: a tradition again referred to in No. 12:

Papa captus hunc vel hanc decipit,
Papa nullum vel nullam excipit.

We should hardly expect the author of such poems to develop either tenderness or power in addressing women, and in this we are not disappointed. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are samples of a poetic correspondence Hilary carried on with nuns; he exchanges songs with them, denominates himself their humble servitor, *quem emisti munere*, would have a new girdle from one and bounty from another, and assures them one and all of his unwavering constancy. There is nothing in these three amatory songs, *nugae amatoriae*, to warrant our believing them the models of the sincere, concrete, sensuous popular lyrics contained in the *Carmina burana*. They are simply and solely modish poetry padded with the current polite phrases of *minnedienst*, graceful protestations of an unfelt homage, ready compliments of an *homme du monde*. We could hope for no surer testimony that we must not look to France for the originals of our popularizing lyrics than these twelfth-century Franco-Latin poems. As Hilary's poems are not easily accessible it will perhaps be well to print one of them herewith that the reader may convince himself of the truth of these assertions. I choose his ode to Rose, the warmest, most tender of all his verses:

AD ROSEAM

1

Ave sidus occidentis,
Sidus lucis unice,
Summum decus tue gentis
Et telluris Anglice;
Fama multis argumentis
Protestatur publice
Quis sit status tue mentis,
Quam largus inmodice.

2

Ave, splendor puellarum,
Generosa domina,
Genma micans, sidus clarum,
Speciosa femina,
Quae precellis, et non parum,
Mulierum agmina,
Bonum ingens, bonum rarum,
Mea lege carmina!

3

Crede mihi, cum natura
Te primo composuit,
Ad probandum sua jura
Te mundo proposuit.
Dotes multas, bona plura
Tibi quidem tribuit;
Et quid posset sua cura
Prudenter exhibuit.

4

Te produxit generosam
Parentum nobilitas,
Te produxit speciosam
Benigna nativitas;
Te severam, te jocosam
Doctrinae frugalitas;
Nomen tuum signat rosam,
Et ecce virginitas.

5

Per te fama verum dicit
Neque cessat dicere,
Atque famam verum vincit,
Dum nequid sufficere;
Fama vero senper crescit
Neque cessat crescere;
Sic se victam erubescit,
Quae solebat vincere.

6

Corpus decens, splendor visus
Orisque modestia,
Et venustus ille risus
Carensque lascivia,
Effecerunt ut confisus
Sim de tua gratia:
Ob hoc ego sum enisus
Ad audendum talia.

7

Cum sis potens et benigna,
Sicut esse sentio,
Nunc susmito, virgo digna,
Me tuo servitio;
Corpus meum et res meas
Jam tibi subicio;
Me deffendas, et res eas,
Mea sis protectio.

8

Jam securus ego vivam,
Ad cuncta tentamina
Tutus ero, cum te divam
Habeam pro domina.
Sume mea, virgo decens,
Benigne precamina,
Ut te laudet forma recens
Mea senper pagina.

This is as near love-poetry as any known author of the twelfth century came to write. Polished as a brilliant pebble, its phraseology borrowed from the hymns to Mary, addressed to a lady of noble birth, collected and cool as Hildebert's compliment to Adèle or Baudri's epistle to Emma; such poetry was current in the French schools of Hilary's day. Odo of Orleans, Peter of Blois, Godefrid of Rheims, Henry of Huntingdon, and many another may have achieved like verse, but the lost effusions of these young and amorous students have not come down to us.

LOVE-LYRICS OF THE GOLIARDS

We must not call the *nugae amatoriae* of schoolmen and churchmen love-lyrics, for then no term is left to use when we are

confronted by the glowing, sensual, concrete poems with which we are now to deal.¹ In these erotic verses which custom connects with the name of goliard, woman is first depicted with detailed realism, the poet spends himself in the recital of passionate sentiment: "novus ignis in me furit; cor aestuat interius; amare crucior; morior vulnere quo glorior." Hilary's gray-hooded Rose is pale as some young Schiller's Laura when compared with Flora faultless as a blossom,² Lydia whose cheeks of rose are dyed with Tyrian red,³ or the maiden like a morning-star who is compact of Blanche fleur and Helen and full-limbed Venus.⁴ In the background of Hilary's poems loom convent walls and nuns singing matins; in goliardic verse the scene shifts to the dimly lighted room of Venus non verecunda:

Dum caupona verterem
Vino debachatus,
Secus templum Veneris
Eram hospitatus;⁵

Veneris ad thalamum
Omnes currunt viae;
Non est in tot turribus
Turris Alethiae;⁶

Si variarum
Odor herbarum

¹ Interesting is the pronouncement of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169): "In all the realm of Christendom none longer dares to sing shameless songs publicly." This statement shows how little trust should often be reposed in contemporary testimony. Cf. Scherer, *Gesch. d. d. Dichtung*, p. 63.

² *Carmina burana*, No. 56; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1838), p. 114; Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 312. Although the version of MS Christine is the completest of the three redactions (8 stanzas), Hauréau actuated by a false shame prints but three stanzas. In self-justification he quotes Figaro's epigram: "Man drinks when he is not thirsty and makes love continually—that's what distinguishes him from the animals."

³ *Anthologia latina*, ed. Riese, Vol. II, p. xli; *Gaudeamus* (1879)², p. 96.

⁴ *Carmina burana*, No. 50; cf. Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance* (1869)², p. 138. Two passages of this long mosaic poem are noteworthy: stanzas 8 and 9, which remind in their phraseology of Hilary's *Ad Roseam* but are shot through with color; stanzas 29 and 30, which Symonds refers to as "a paean of victorious passion."

⁵ *Carmina burana*, No. 49; a long poem in mock heroic strain dealing with the visit of a student in a brothel.

⁶ *Carmina burana*, No. CLXXII; the celebrated *Confessio Goliae*. For the bibliography and variant texts of this poem see Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde d. latein. Lit.*, p. 200. In the name Alethia Paris (*Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 95; cf. Vol. XXIV, p. 455), Laistner (*Germania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 420; *Goliae*, p. 106), and Peiper (*Gaudeamus*², p. 213) see an allusion to the character in Theodulus' *Ecloga*: "Alethia virgo decora nimis David de semine regis pro christiana religione decertat cum Pseuste."

Spiraverit,
 Si dederit
 Thorum rosa,
 Dulciter soporis alimonia
 Post defessa Veneris commercia
 Lassis captatur,
 Dum instillatur.¹

Suddenly it is as if the shackles had fallen away. In such poetry Tannhäuser no longer cringes before the pope hopeless of absolution; Tristan is careless of discovery, Launcelot makes laughing confession. All people seem in love with loving. The world is gross a little, but then for a short space the world is again free. "If you bring Hippolitus | To Pavia Sunday | He'll not be Hippolitus | On the following Monday," says the Archpoet. Stronger than Hercules must that clerk be who but for the moment will escape the snares of Venus.² What we may think of this sort of poetry is another matter, but one thing is sure. It is a new type. Where did it come from? How did it come about?

Let me answer these two questions by asking one. Why should the most accomplished and awakened set of writers which central Europe knew—the students at the French schools—be exempt from the pervasive influence of new social ideals which found their highest expression at just this time in vernacular verse and *courtois* poetry? I quote from Diez:

While the songs of the troubadours were affording joy and entertainment to the cultured world in the south of France, the northeast of Spain, and upper Italy, lyrical poetic art was likewise being practiced in the other parts of Europe under the same, or at least similar, conditions and forms and in a kindred spirit. This poetry appears everywhere in the double guise of artistic and courtly verse, developing according to local circumstances and popular traditions. This similarity is even to the casual glance surprising, but it gains in extent and clarity the moment that one after careful sifting collates the various points to be compared. And so the question cannot be avoided: did communication and reciprocal influence occur, and if so, to what extent? In such assembling the Provençal lyric necessarily seems to occupy the most important place, for it

¹ *Carmina burana*, No. 37; of the author of this piece Barchhardt wrote: "der fein beobachtende Sybarit kann kein Nordländer sein."

² *Carmina burana*, No. 38; *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XXI, p. 154: Hauréau says of it (*Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 310): "C'est une jolie pièce, écrite avec aisance, où la pensée n'est pas obscurcie ni la langue viciée pour satisfaire aux exigences du rythme."

is the oldest and geographically situated in the center of the others. But no matter how many traits these literary phenomena may have in common, one should still be careful not to accord too great weight to their intercommunication. One must at all times seek to differentiate between what is transmitted and, on the other hand, that which arises from general human conditions and from the particular trend of the age.¹

The poetry of troubadour, trouvère, minnesinger, and goliard are all brought into being by the new spirit of the twelfth century which we know so well; chivalry and the cloth of gold, love of sensuous beauty and of every luxury that spiced and embellished it. None of these bodies of verse grew by insensible gradations out of preceding forms—one single movement added a new character-unit, a simple mutation occurred, and that moment mediaeval worldly love-lyrics of a novel species were born.² All that the *nugae amatoriae* of schoolmen needed to become erotic goliard lyrics they received from the same impulse that changed the vernacular lyric of France, Germany, and Italy. The instant this impulse was manifest in Latin poetry the new type was born.³

If we wish, then, to connect this storm-and-stress lyric with that of men like Hilary, we must use the phrase school-poetry in a changed sense. It can no longer mean meticulous lyric and epic verse with the traditions of the school and of scholasticism in every line of it. It is a poetry of revolt, one that has found conscious expression for the passions and tumults of town and university life, one that reflects the answer of its time to the pressure of novel conditions.⁴ The free-lance who wrote the *Saevit aurae*

¹ Cf. Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours* (1883)², pp. 213, 215.

² Cf. Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 577 ff.; Allen, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 442 ff.

³ Vogt, *Leben und Dichten der deutschen Spielleute im Mittelalter* (1876), pp. 9 f.: "Until the middle of the twelfth century the dominant class in the domain of poetry continued to be the clergy, and it is characteristic that even the duchess Gertrude, wife of Henry the Proud, when she wished to hear the Song of Roland in German verses, did not turn as we might expect to a minstrel but to a priest. Not until the twelfth century came, and the whole intellectual life of the nation underwent that powerful about-face which gave full currency to the worldly element in literature, did the minstrels occupy a more important and influential position in the history of German culture." With practically no change these sentences will do as well for the story of any other European literature. As clergy yielded their ground to minstrels, so did Latin churchmen fall back somewhat before the children of this world, the goliards. "Legend and love were the two main themes of the twelfth century literary revolt against earlier religious traditions." Strange, indeed, would it be if the Latin students of the period had continued unmoved by them.

⁴ We gain a hint of the coming of such poetry in the Viennese MS published in the *Archiv. f. ältere deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. X, p. 559: "Young people surrender themselves to

spiritus may possibly be a clerk like Hilary, but he resembles him no more than the author of the *Roman Elegies* or the *Venetian Epigrams* resembles the poet who composed watery and inane poetic exercises for the *Leipziger Liederbuch*, or (to speak in terms of closer analogy) than Walther in the years of his maturity as wandering singer and political seer resembled him who wrote while under the spell of Reinmar's courtly effusions the songs of the "first period": theorizing debates on the nature of love.

A new type of poetry assuredly; a new sort of author perhaps. The wandering students (goliards) seem to have known life better than they did grammar and dialectic, to have been in close touch with all classes and conditions of people.¹ They scarcely abandoned their school life to become settled churchmen, famous pedagogues, royal secretaries and the like, as did most of those we spoke of in the preceding chapter. No conventional bonds were set for them; whoever they were, they led a care-free and vagabond

an indiscreet and frivolous manner of living, run after prostitutes who make public display of their wares, and seek by their effeminate and ribald verses to seduce and incite to sensual pleasure any who will listen to them. These youths believe that they are thus acquiring much fame, whereas they only succeed in being ridiculous. For proper and intelligent men despise the things on which they set much value, esteem them as nothing more than minstrels, and take good care not to clothe them with reputable offices." Evil as the morals of the students were, and they have been portrayed to us by many a contemporary reformer (cf., for example, a sermon of Chancellor Prevostin, thirteenth century, Hauréau, Vol. III, p. 166), the pace was set for them by their instructors—like master like man. When we remember the verses of Serlo referred to above, and recall among the poems ascribed to Marbod the *Satira in amatorem pueri* (Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXXI, col. 1717; Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der latein. Lit.*, p. 5); when we review the epigrams assigned to Hildebert (Hauréau, *Mélanges poétiques*, pp. 171 ff.): how he believes sodomy not a crime but a vice, details the phases in the development of the human seed, how in the *Elegia de perfida amica* (Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 421) the poet warns against women who betray their lovers for money; we need not be surprised to find poems of similar import intruding everywhere even in the trope-books and sequence-collections. The song *Clausio chronos reserato* (*Carmina burana*, No. 46) is among a series of Christmas songs in a sequentiar of the Order of Preachers; MS St. Gall 383, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 363, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 7. The *Olim sudor Herculis* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 38) is found along with other *vagantlieder* in the antiphonary of Peter of Medici; Codex Laurentianus Plut. XXIX, 1, *Annuaire bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* (1885), pp. 101 ff., *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 9. The *Rumor letalis* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 83) and other profane songs of the Benedictine collection are included in a troparium of the thirteenth century; Codex Stuttgartensis. Handbibl. I Asc. 95, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 23, etc., etc. The famous *chansonnier* of Montpellier contains in parallel columns liturgic texts and erotic, often smutty, French love-songs; Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique au xii et xiii siècle* (1865); Koller, *Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. IV, p. 1-82; Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français* (1881), Vol. I; *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 28. The sacred songs of Cod. Parisin. 15131 appear to have been composed to fit the melodies of old French popular pieces; Hauréau, Vol. IV, p. 278, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 24. Hard it is to decide in many cases whether we are dealing with mediaeval naïveté or brutality (cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 33).

¹ Cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.*, Vol. I (1899)², pp. 353 f.

existence and the stamp of it is everywhere in the erotic lyrics they composed and sang.

As to the other question, how far we may trace in these lyrics the influence of Provençal and French prototypes—it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge impossible, to attempt a definite answer. In isolated cases, of course, we may demonstrate that one Latin lyric or another came from specific French or Provençal songs.¹ But to ascertain in any general and sweeping fashion just in how far the love-lyrics of the goliards were conditioned by and shaped after a precedent body of vernacular court-poetry in France—this is quite a different matter. First, we must establish a codification of the melodies, verse and stanza forms, rhyme devices, etc., of troubadour and trouvère poetry; and then show that these were introduced into Latin lyrics of a later date than they. Second, we must gather the main themes and the particular treatment of these themes in troubadour and trouvère poetry and prove that at a later time Latin lyrics adopted them. Third, in many minor matters of internal evidence, such as idiosyncrasy of phrase and epithet, style and syntax, reminiscences, commonplaces, identity of petty mannerism, and the like, we must make apparent that the mediaeval Latin love-lyrics followed definitely in the steps of precedent vernacular verse in southern and northern France.

These things have already been done, it is true, in a detached fashion and with widely differing results. We have many studies of melodic and harmonic art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,² but still none that make reasonable the claim of France to priority where Latin lyricity is concerned. Investigation of French verse and stanza forms leaves us yet with the possibility that mediaeval Latin erotic lyrics followed quite exclusively their own traditional development.³ Their themes, too, are largely akin

¹ By applying tests, for instance, such as those suggested in the Appendix, *infra*.

² For bibliography of this subject cf. the study of Lavoix on the *Musique au siècle de St. Louis* (in the second volume of Raynaud's *Recueil de motets français* [1883]), pp. 467-79, and the supplements of *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1885 ff.; also David et Lussy, *Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines* (1882); Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique* (1865), and Restori's "Note sur la musique des chansons" in Julléville, *Histoire*, Vol. I, pp. 390 ff.

³ Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, pp. 173 ff.; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1905), Vol. II, pp. 30 ff. Meyer says: "Ich glaube bewiesen zu haben, dass die Deutschen seit Not-

to those of all the vernacular bodies of mediaeval verse and unless one insist unduly upon the evidence of MS chronology¹ there is nothing to be gained by the cataloguing of motifs that Latin poetry possessed in great part centuries before the troubadours and trouvères appeared upon the scene.²

Perhaps we shall never know beyond the shadow of doubt either of two things: first, that there were not written before the twelfth century by goliards beautiful Latin ballads of love;³ second, just how great was the influence exercised by the Provençal

ker einen ununterbrochenen Strom lebhafter und kunstreicher Sequenzendichtung gehabt haben und dass von den lateinischen Gedichten der Carmina Burana sicher viele, wahrscheinlich die meisten in Deutschland gedichtet sind." Meyer believes in the priority of the Latin forms to the French: "Den Provenzalen und den Franzosen lag es bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit der Sprache viel näher und leichter, die kunstreichen Strophen der mittellateinischen Dichter nachzuahmen. Was bei diesem Streben die provenzalischen, die französischen und die deutschen Dichter geleistet haben, dessen Wert gegenseitig abzuwägen, ist kaum möglich und hat keinen Zweck."

¹ As one should not do; simply because a sort of Provençal lyric (based upon the time-tables of MSS which have chanced to descend to us) seems to antedate certain French songs by a few years; because again the latter precede by a span the German courtly song, and this German poetry anticipates the appearance of some Latin erotic verses—therefore what? For this reason alone shall we establish a direct line of evolution in four languages from Poitou to Benedictbeuern by way of Paris? I have already expressed my feelings on this head (cf. *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 412).

² Latin poetry is the starting-point of any investigation of the mediaeval Provençal and French lyric. Failure to recognize this fact largely, at times entirely, nullifies the results attained by Jeanroy in his *Origines*. He would prove first that certain themes existed in France and that they later were developed in other countries, and all this is fairly true, especially when we accept his chronology as decisive and believe that *post hoc* means *propter hoc*. But there is nothing essentially French in most of the themes that he lists as fundamental ones; and as a matter of fact almost all of them can be found in Latin poetry known to us from a much earlier time than the one that he treats.

The only reason, of course, that we cannot discover many of these themes in vernacular poetry of the centuries precedent to the troubadours is that all of this earlier verse is lost, and there is but the indistinct mirage of it in the dull skies of Latin literature. There were minstrels who wrote well in Romance long before the middle of the ninth century, if we believe such testimony as the lines which summon poets to the memorial service for Adalhard of Corbie (d. 826):

Rustica concelebreit romana latinaque lingua
Saxo, qui pariter plangens pro carmine dicit:
Vertite huc cuncti cecinit quam maximus ille,
Et tumulum facite, et tumulo super addite carmen.

Cf. Raynouard, *Choix des poésies des troubadours* (1816-21), Vol. II, p. cxxxv; Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Rajna, *Le Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 326, note 2.

³ Harping upon a single theme is tiresome, but I would again suggest that it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a new MS earlier in date than the twelfth century will be discovered in which Latin love-ballads are included; then may topple the carefully reared fabric of goliard ascendancy in twelfth-century France. Without the Cambridge MS we should be without any hint of such a song as the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus*; except for Schröder's discovery twelve years ago we should not know that popular German dance ballads were being piped in the early years of the eleventh century. By so thin a thread does literary history at times depend. English literature furnishes two remarkable analogies. Were it not for one poem, *The Owl and Nightingale*, early transition English would offer us

lyric on the poems of the wandering students. We must be content to say that from the twelfth century on, impelled thereto by a new movement in literary art, goliards composed songs like the *Saevit aurae spiritus*, *Lydia bella*, and *Si linguis angelicis*, referred to above, like the *E globo veteri*, *Rumor letalis*,¹ and a host of other poems contained in the MSS of St. Omer, Queen Christine, and Benedictbeuern. Effective as these pieces are, they are still full of classical reminiscence, recondite mythological allusion, artificial verse structure, learned apparatus, scholastic subtleties, and mention of school and studies; they are poems frankly cognizant of the necessity for fleshly enjoyment, hungry for it, unsated by it, unabashed in the discussion of it.²

These poems, so far as we may judge by the MS evidence at our present disposal, were written by the goliards first in the twelfth century and in France. There is no inherent reason why Englishmen and Germans and Italians who had never been in any of the French schools may not have composed such verses, but proof of this is lacking. Current doctrine therefore may hold *en défaut de mieux* until we know more than we do or are likely to about the individual history of these fugitive Latin pieces. About a hundred of the love-poems in the *Carmina burana* belong to the type of erotic goliard lyric and may thus claim the schools of France as their birthplace, or—what is the same thing for our purpose—they were modeled upon songs which had originated there; they

but the dried curds of homilies, proverbs, and gnomic verses, didactic works like *A Father's Instruction* and *Paternoster*, the *Ormulum*, *Poema Morale*, *Bestiary*, and *Ancren Riwle*, Layamon's *Brut*, saints' lives, religious allegories, and uninspired planctus. But one poem and one alone is sufficient to mark the existence in this age of freshness and originality. It is known to us in two MSS, but others of its kind are known to us in none. Again: "among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, a small quarto volume numbered Nero A. x contains the four Middle English poems known as *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, and *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*. No single line in these poems has been discovered in any other manuscript" (*Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 357). Had this single MS not been found we should not possess three of the finest English poems of the fourteenth century, together with the "jewel of English mediaeval literature" (as Gaston Paris called *Gawayne*; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXX).

¹ *Carmina burana*, Nos. 40, 83; Drevs, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 363, 365; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1838), p. 111.

² Cf. *Carmina burana*, Nos. 31-51, 53-57, 59, 60, 61, stanzas 9-16, 65, 78, 84, 89, 90, 95-98, 101-3, 105-18, 120, 122-29, 131-34, 137, 139, 141-44, 147, 154-61, 163-68. This list has no absolute value and is merely provisional. Learned goliard pieces these poems are, but not always in their entirety, for in certain stanzas of some of them we find intercalations or allusions of the popular sort. Such material will be reverted to below, in our treatment of "popularizing Latin lyrics."

were conditioned by the "French" spirit of their time. Without hesitation and without hair-splitting let us assign them to that country which appears to have first given them birth and vogue.

It may, however, be acknowledged that there is a trace of guile in this ready surrender of the goliard songs to France. For they are no more the poems we are seeking than were the *nugae amatoriae* of the schoolmen. Beautiful they are, many of them, but popular they are not, any of them. Dance-melodies are not heard in them. They have no establishable connection with the humble festivals and customs and speech of the people. Except in such instances as we shall find later on, where transmuted snatches of folk-song and vernacular tones intrude, goliard poems remain a learned thing, as far removed generally and generically from real life as the metrical faëry romances of French Arthurian tradition. They are not racial, not autobiographic. Sprung like *courtois* poetry from new impulses, they soon grow, just as this poetry did, "universal"—they become "denationalized." "Take ten lyric trouvères," said Louis Passy, "and you will not find ten men, but just one lone trouvère."¹ In like wise one goliard's lyric is apt to resemble any and every other's.

FRENCH POEMS IN THE *CARMINA BURANA*

In the preceding chapter we differentiated two kinds of song, the amatory lyric of known authors and the erotic lyric of the wandering students—assigning them both to twelfth-century France. There is no difference of opinion possible as to the first sort, the amatory lyric; but it was suggested that the second sort, the erotic song, might be born in any individual instance outside of France. There are at least five methods which have been employed by scholars to determine the country where such erotic songs originated, and it was my original intention to subject these pieces one by one to the five tests in order thus to marshal philological evidence in support of the statement that certain goliard pieces hitherto ascribed to France might be won for Germany. But I soon found that the accumulation of detail which this process

¹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. XX (1852), p. 1; cf. also Bédier, *Revue des deux mondes* (1894), p. 923, Jeanroy in Jullien's *Histoire*, Vol. I, p. 380.

of research necessarily entailed threatened to bury the main argument of my thesis so deep beneath a mass of debris that I could not expect even the reader trained to academic digging to recover it. I therefore have contented myself to allow French origin to any piece whose origin seemed uncertain, in order not to cloud the issue by petty doubtings. It is no essential part of my present endeavor to rescue mediaeval Latin lyrics for Germany; I want merely those that I may have after suspicion is stilled—any songs which in no wise suggest a foreign source and which are found in a German MS I shall assume to be native and German. Lest I should be suspected of not taking into consideration the five tests in the case of any song I hereafter examine I cite and discuss them all in an appendix at the end of this study. One other matter before we proceed further: Schmeller's text of the *Benedictbeuern* MS is untrustworthy. Before undertaking my work I used all the titles given below to establish as correct a version as possible.¹

The lyrics of love now left us in the *Carmina burana* number some thirty songs: 52, 61, 63, 79–82 (81 is to be divided into two pieces), 88, 92, 99, 100, 108 stanzas 5 and 6, 112, 114 stanza 3, 115 stanza 1, 120 stanza 6, 121, 136, 138, 145, 146, 104, 119, 130, 135, 140, 162.

Six of these lyrics we may well assign to France, for they are Latin *pastourelles*: 52 *Aestivali sub fervore*, 61 *Ludo cum Caecilia*, 63 *Exiit diluculo*, 104 *Florent omnes arbores*, 119 *Lucis orto sidere*, and 120 *Vere dulci mediante*.² Such pastorals were

¹ *Carmina burana*, ed. Schmeller, 1847; fourth edition reprinted without change 1905: Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta burana* (1901), *Ludus de Antichristo* and *Ursprung des Motetts* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*) (1905), Vols. I and II; Martin, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XX (1876), pp. 46–69; R. M. Meyer, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 121–236; Wustmann, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV (1891), pp. 328–43; Patzig, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI (1892), pp. 183–203; Dreves, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX (1895), pp. 363 ff.; Bohmer, *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), pp. 161 ff.; Bartsch, *Romanisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. XII (1881), pp. 1 ff.; Ilberg, *Zeitschr. f. d. östr. Gymnasien*, Vol. XL (1889), pp. 103 ff.; Ehrismann, *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVI (1904), pp. 396 ff.; Lundius, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX (1907), pp. 337 ff.; Santangelo, *Studi Romanzi*, Vol. IV (1905), p. 299; Wallensköld, *Memoires d. l. soc. neo-phil. a Helsingfors*, Vol. I (1893), pp. 71 ff.; Ehrenthal, *Studien zu den Liedern der Vaganten* (1891); Peiper, *Gaudeamus* (1879)²; Gröber, *Carmina clericorum* (1880); Laistner, *Gollas* (1879); Schreiber, *Die Vagantenstrophe* (1894); Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, particularly Vol. XXI (1895); further, variant texts of individual songs published from other MSS than that of *Benedictbeuern* by Wright, Grimm, Du Méril, Müldener, Hauréau, etc.

² A *pastourelle* is a simple poem set in a rustic scene, graceful and trifling in tone, describing the meeting of a man of culture and an *ingenue*, generally a shepherdess. In no version that we have is this type of poem a *volkstied*, it is refined rather than simple, subtle rather than true. Curiously enough, the earliest example of the *pastourelle* is the Latin

sung in Provence and North France probably as early as the first half of the twelfth century and it is thought to have been long after this time that they spread across Europe finally to appear in fourteenth-century Italy as madrigals.¹

Another group of seven poems has been assigned to France because of allusions they contain. These are as follows:

79 *Congaudentes ludite*; a simple dance-song of three quatrains and refrain in which occurs the expression *bela mia*. But it is not these words which seem to betray its origin² so much as the antithesis the song emphasizes of crabbed age and fiery youth (after the manner of the French *debat*) and the tawdry

song in the MS of St. Omer; cf. Mone, *Archiv f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII (1838), p. 296; Du Méril (1847), p. 228; Pillot, *Studien zur Pastourelle* (1902), p. 9; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 515. For the history of this lyric form and complete bibliography, cf. the first chapter of Jeanroy's book.

¹ Cf. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. IV, p. 156. I do not quite understand why we may not imagine No. 61 to be Italian, for it is found in an Italian MS. Symonds felt that No. 52, with its verse *sub olivae me decore detinebat mora*, must have been written near Como or Garda, although the facts apparently do not bear out his belief. "In the production of the songs of the wandering students, with their boisterous love of life, their fresh feeling for nature and their keen satire against the church, the Italians had no share at all, or at any rate a most insignificant one," says Gaspari (*Italian Literature to the Death of Dante* [1901], p. 45), and Stracali, Ronea, and Novati share this view. Ozanam, however, regarded the *Altercatio Helenae et Ganymedis* as Italian (*Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie*, p. 20) and Hauréau ascribes the *De Phyllide et Flora* to the same source (*Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 2, p. 303), Santangelo (*Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, pp. 82 ff.) tries to prove a number of the *Carmina burana* Italian in coloring and in origin. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the *Suevi* which Schmeller prints in the sixth stanza of No. 52 and which caused several scholars to assign the song to Germany was changed to *saevi* by Peiper and Laistner.

Several other poems in the *Carmina burana* are believed by R. M. Meyer (*loc. cit.*, pp. 222 f.) to be imitations of French *pastourelles*: Nos. 45 *Grates ago Veneri*, 56 *Saevit aurae spiritus*, 105 *Tempus adest floridum*, etc. No one of these pieces, however, can be copied from a *pastourelle* as the word is defined in the preceding note. My definition is based upon Jeanroy and G. Paris (*Romania*, Vol. V, p. 123).

² Unless we think a handful of words determine the nativity of a song. If we do, pray where were the following born!

*Deu sal misir bescher de vin,
Tunc eum osculamur.
Wir enachten niht uf den Rin,
Sed Bacho famulamur.*—No. 174.

*Urbs salva regia
Trovir, urbs urbium
Per quam lascivia
Redit ad gaudium,
Florescit patria,
Flore sodalium.*

Per dulzor!

*Her wirt, tragent her nuo win,
Vrolich auln wir bi dem sin.*—No. 181.

Compare with these the song mentioned on p. 74.

goliard phrase *militemus Veneri*.¹ The outcry of love with which the refrain ends, *da hi zevaleria*, has always sounded German in my ears when I remember various unintelligible *juchzer* which break forth from German popular poetry of love, but this is a mere matter of opinion and none can tell.²

80 *Cur suspectum me tenet domina?* The complaint of one suspected of sodomy;³ five quatrains with the refrain *Tort a vers mei dama*. These French words do not necessarily make a Frenchman of their author any more than the practically identical line in Hilary's *Ad Petrum Abelardum* converts the nationality of the latter, particularly as another phrase of the poem bespeaks German origin.⁴ But the song is perhaps best thought of as composed at a French school.⁵

81 *Juvenes amoriferi*; a simple dance-song of two quatrains with refrain. Contains no French word, unless *domicelli* and *domicellas* be gallicisms.⁶

81a *Doleo quod nimium*; a Latin-Provençal love-song of seven six-versed stanzas.⁷

¹ Most of the poems that contain this phrase are suspected of learned and clerical origin: e.g., No. 31 *militemus Dioneo lari*; 35 *Veneris militiam proponere*; 37 *sic et Veneris militia*; 53 *militandi studio Venus excitatur*; 107 *militemus simul Veneri*; 124 *signa Veneris militet*; 128 *jam dudum amoris militem*; 144 *militetis Veneri*, etc.

² Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 6, n. 3) thinks differently, as is to be expected. But R. M. Meyer, in speaking of two other *juwezungen* (125 *lodircundeia*, *lodircundeia* and 136 *hyrca hyrca nazaza trillirivos*) remarks: "the two refrains do not appear to be German because they are largely without the vowel *a* which is so predominant in German refrains" (*loc. cit.*, p. 189).

³ Not the first clerk to report false suspicion in this regard. Cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* (1900), p. 376: "*Meretrices publicae ubique per vicos et plateas civitatis passim ad lupanaria sua clericos transeuntes quasi per violentiam pertrahabant. Quod si forte ingredi recusarent, confestim eos Sodomitas post ipsos conclamantes dicebant. Illud enim foedum et abominabile vitium adeo civitatem quasi lepra incurabilis et venenum insanabile occupaverat, quod honorificum reputabant, si quis publice teneret unam vel plures concubinas.*"

⁴ The debatable line *nostra fuit Briciauvia* afforded Grimm the conjecture that Breisgau was meant (*Gedichte auf Friedr. I.*, p. 177), but Du Méril translated the word *Bressia avia*, i. e., remote Bresse: in this he is followed by Hubatsch (*Lat. Vagantentlieder*, p. 90) and so French origin is given the piece. As if a German student away at school could not utter the preening statement: "Ah, Breisgau was free of this sort of infamy!"

⁵ As may have been other songs presumably written by German students like No. 82 *Dulce solum natalis patriae*, 162 *O comes amoris, dolor*, and the *Hospita in Gallia* quoted above; all songs of parting. To the French school should go No. 83 *Rumor letalis* which bids farewell to an unworthy mistress, although this song is found only in German MSS.

⁶ Cf. Voigt, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. XXV, p. 34.

⁷ Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 8, and Patzig (*loc. cit.*, p. 197) for emended text. The song 81a is made by patching together No. 169 and the last six stanzas of 81.

83 *Rumor letalis*; a song of farewell to a faithless mistress in three eight-versed stanzas, three quatrains, and three stanzas of five verses each.¹

84 *Tange sodes cytharam*; a pendant to the above. The faithless mistress has been replaced by a more modest love. Four eight-versed stanzas and four of six lines each; nasty in tone toward the end.²

88 *Tempus instat floridum*; the complaint of a deserted girl. Sorrows for the lover who has fled in *Franciam*; six six-versed stanzas prefaced by a nature introduction of three lines and refrain.

Now were it not for this last poem I should not object to surrendering to French originals and French models all the above songs. Who cares in any large sense whether higher criticism assigns one quatrain more or less to this country or that, because the sweetheart is called *bela mia* instead of *Flora mea*, because *hyrca*, *hyrce nazaza* is not so vowel-a-ful as *tandaradei*, because *Briciauua* seems to a Frenchman to be *Bressia avia* rather than *Brisigavia*, or because *domicellas* is gravely averred to be *Mamsels* and not *Jungfern*! It hurts somewhat, I confess, to give over No. 83 so easily. There is no allusion therein to school or learning, no classical lore or mythological imagery, no unreal figure of speech. It is direct and tuneful as few Latin songs ever written, one of the few mediaeval poems I know where the Roman tongue flows as smoothly and truly as if spoken by an Augustan author. But we give it up for a most uncritical reason—the reason that has satisfied many an investigator in mediaeval fields:

¹ Also found in a Stuttgart MS of the thirteenth century; cf. Dreyes, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 363. Symonds (*Wine, Women and Song*, p. 129) says of the poem: "A remarkable specimen of the songs written for a complicated melody. The first eight lines seem set to one tune; in the next four that tune is slightly accelerated, and a double rhyme is substituted for a single one in the tenth and twelfth verses. The five concluding lines go to a different kind of melody, and express in each stanza a changed mood of feeling." Lines 17, 24, and 51 rhyme.

² Intricate in rhyme-scheme like the preceding poem. Jeanroy was able to clear up the meaning of four lines of it which had hitherto defied adequate translation:

Mittam eam in ambulis,
Et castigabo virgulis,
Tangam eam stimulis,
Ut facio juvenculis.
Vinculis
Vinciam, si consulis.

The comparison of the mistress with a steed would appear to stamp sufficiently this poem as of French extraction (cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 53, 477).

the poem seems to be too sure and clever, too *gelungen* to be written by a German pen.

Personally I weary of the doctrine that German poets during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a trifle naïve and stupid, and therefore unable to achieve a Latin song quite so well as their French brethren. I will not exactly say that this is not so, especially if the song be a pretentious performance full of scholastic phrasing and formula, and I acknowledge to a sense of awe when critics play high trump cards like Walter of Chatillon and Hugo of Orleans, St. Bernard and Abelard and Peter of Blois, Hildebert of Lavardin (who has left us no lyric line more sincere than the hexameters of Fortunatus) and the rest of the brilliant company of ecclesiastics and schoolmen whose lyric production we have so largely to take on faith.

But if Walter did write the St. Omer songs, if Hugo did devote three living but rough poems to the courtesan Flora, they are none of them instinct with the feeling of the *Rumor letalis*; a piece so spontaneous in emotion, so flexible in meter that Symonds can compare it with Byron's *When We Two Parted* as a close analogue.

1

Rumor letalis
Crebro me vulnerat,
Meisque malis
Dolores aggregat,
Me male multat
Vox tui criminis,
Quae jam resultat
In mundi terminis.

Invida fama
Tibi novercatur;
Cautius ama,
Ne comperiatur.

Quod agis, age tenebris;
Procul a famae palpebris
Laetatur amor latebris
Et dulcibus illecebris
Cum murmure jocos.

2

Nulla notavit
Te turpis fabula,
Dum nos ligavit
Amoris copula,
Sed frigescente
Nostra cupidine,
Sordes repente
Funebri crimine.

Fama laetata
Novis hymenaeis,
Irrevocata,
Ruit in plateis.

Patet lupanar omnium
Pudoris in palatium,
Nam virginale lilium
Marcet a tactu vilium
Commercio proboso.

3

Nunc plango florem
Aetatis tenerae,
Nitidiorem
Veneris sidere,
Tunc columbinam
Mentis dulcedinem,
Nunc serpentinam
Amaritudinem.

Verbo rogantes
Removes hostili;
Munera dantes
Foves in cubili.
Illos abire praecipis
A quibus nihil accipis;
Caecos claudosque recipis,
Viros illustres decipis
Cum melle venenosos.

I find nowhere else in the Latin lyrics of these times so earnest an apostrophe to a faithless companion. And the longer one searches, the more clear does this become. Let us read a few lines of Hugo's tirade against Flora who has left him, lines from a poet whom Wilhelm Meyer rightly considers *eigenartig, vortrefflich, lebensprühend*:

Quid luges lirice, quid meres pro meretrice?
Respira retice neque te dolor urat amice!
Scimus—et est aliquid—quia te tua Flora reliquit.
Sed tu ne cures, possunt tibi dicere plures,
Qui simili more simili periere dolore.
Teque dolor scorti dabit afflictum cito morti,
Ni dure sorti respondes pectore forti.¹

There is food for reflection in the thought that we must deliver our poem of parting to France, although we can discover no other French song like it, although it hints in no way at this country or its institutions, although it is found only in two German MSS—and all for the reason above given which a moment's study

¹ "O poet, thou must not grieve thus over Flora the runaway courtesan. It is all very uncomfortable for thee of course, but don't worry to death. First, there's no help for it anyway, and then besides—let the muse comfort you—that sort of girl is not worth it. Listen, you inexperienced person, and learn of what clay such a maiden is made. Good things to eat and drink, pretty clothes and other rich presents are the only matters that count with her; they outweigh your person and your poems. If you cease giving her presents, she seeks out another patron who is generous and laughs at you; begin your gifts again and she returns to you. She is tender for money's sake, so that she can cajole much from you; how you secure it, if you ruin yourself in getting it—that's all one to her." Cf. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), p. 131. Hugo is hurt evidently in his tenderest spot—his pride. He wishes to worm out of his difficulty somehow and escape the malicious pity of his friends. So he pretends that he does not care much and publishes the woman as a common prostitute in order to save his own face. He succeeds but badly, although he gains here and there a certain pothouse effectiveness. If we compare this crude satire on fallen women, this first cousin to Gollas, *De conjuge non ducenda*, with *Rumor letalis*, the lyric earnestness and truth of the latter at once becomes manifest.

convinces us is no reason at all. So set are we in our belief that France dominated the mediaeval lyric except for the crest of German *minnesang*.

But No. 88 I shall not yield to France. In this, the most beautiful or at least the most touching song which the Latin lyric of the Middle Ages has to offer, there is ample evidence of German authorship. When Jeanroy associates it with French pieces dealing with the same theme, he merely shows how great the gulf is which separates the two. Again I am going to take space to print the whole poem in order to establish my point the better; and because wherever I have come across it except in Schmeller's insufficient text the introductory stanza has been omitted, as being but some chance *anhängsel*.

It is this very prelude that gives dramatic tone to the poem! It offers us the nature-background for the passion which the next moment will unroll before us, it strengthens the romantic irony which dwells in the sudden break of mood that the coming lines bring. Heine, taught by the simple art of the *schnaderhüpfel*,¹ never gripped us with more sudden force than does this *planctus*.

1

Tempus instat floridum,²
Cantus crescit avium,
Tellus dat solatium.
Eia, qualia
Sunt amoris gaudia!

2

Huc usque, me miseram!
Rem bene celaveram,
Et amavi callide.
Rea tandem patuit,
Nam venter intumuit,
Partus instat gravidæ.

¹For a discussion of the theory that Heine got a certain use of the "pathetic fallacy" directly from South-German popular quatrains, see my "Heine and the Schnaderhüpfel," *Studies in Popular Poetry* (1902), pp. 13-23. In a reference to this study a year or so ago Walzel announced his intention to teach me better ways. I shall, I trust, never be unready to receive new light on any subject, but the odd thing about this matter is that I agree with Walzel as to Heine's debt to popular poetry, and it is only through a misapprehension of my words that he regards me as an antagonist.

²There are a few similar examples of *stimmungsbrechung* in German *minnesang*, the most effective of which perhaps is Ulrich von Winterstetten's *Sumer wil uns aber bringen*.

Summer brings again before us
Trees in leaf and birds in chorus;
Flowers are come to clothe the plain.
Forth from winter's fetters sally
Heath and meadow, hill and valley:
Roses red are seen again.
All the world to mirth is turning—
Only I alone am mourning.

Cf. Nicholson, *Old German Love Songs* (1907), p. 129. The restoration of the Latin text as here given is based upon suggestions of Wustmann and Peiper, and especially of Lundius, who I believe for the first time recovered the proper form of the last two stanzas.

3

Hinc mater me verberat,
Hinc pater improperat,
Ambo tractant aspere.
Sola domi sedeo,
Egredi non audeo,
Nec in palam ludere.

4

Cum foris egredior,
A cunctis inspicior,
Quasi monstrum fuerim.
Cum vident hunc uterum,
Alter pulsatur alterum,
Silent dum transierim.

5

Semper pulsant cubito,
Me designant digito,
Acsi mirum fuerim.

Nutibus me indicant,
Dignam rogo judicant,
Quod semel peccaverim.

6

Quid percurram singula?
Ego sum in fabula,
Et in ore omnium.
Hoc dolorem cumulat,
Quod amicus exulat
Propter illud paululum.

7

Ob patris saevitiam
Recessit in Franciam
A finibus ultimis.
Ex eo vim patior,
Jam dolore morior,
Semper sum in lacrimis.¹

There is of course no need of assigning to a French source this ballad of a pregnant girl merely because it contains the line *recessit in Franciam*. The argument of the poem is as follows:

Gretchen has been betrayed by him who loves her. Beaten by her mother and cursed by her father, she still does not dare walk abroad, for her neighbors nudge one another and make mouths as she passes by. For her single lapse from honesty she is adjudged worthy of the stake. Why prolong the tedious tale? She has become a mock and her breath is choked with weeping; the tears flow faster at the thought that a father's cruelty has driven the lover off to France.

Now there are at least two reasons why the lover is thought of as fleeing to France. First, this is his native home, as German folk-poetry has often considered it the birth-place of light-of-loves. *Es war ein Buhle frech genug/ War erst aus Frankreich kommen*

¹ While the color of this stanza may perhaps not be said to be specifically German, it can hardly fail to remind us of many commonplaces in the *volkslied*, such as

Nu mag ich numme singen
Und mag kein freuden han,
Ich het mir ein bielen erworben,
Den muss ich faren lan.

—Uhland, *Volkslieder*, No. 36.

says Goethe, but we do not therefore deem his song modeled on a French original, nor need we the poem in *Carmina burana*; in fact we should think it not so, just because France is mentioned. A French song would presumably make the lover who did the betraying an English or Italian lad. The other reason for mentioning France is that it is a foreign land—*terra incognita* to the fearful German maid—and so seems the more terrible as a place of exile for one whom she still loves. She has heard perhaps of the dissolute life there carried on by students and clerks and churchmen—rumors that have been much multiplied and magnified by more than one swaggering Meier Helmbrecht who has returned from his travels to strut about his native village. Again, then, the mention of France has a subtle poetic value which we immediately recognize but which tends to remove the song from its implied French origin.

But while these two reasons do not absolutely do away with the possibility of French origin, they still do not, on the other hand, prove German birth for the piece. Another and much more convincing reason does this. In all the length and breadth of mediæval Latin lyric singing we have no other poem dealing with this theme which betrays half the simple sincerity and directness of this complaint. This assertion is not based upon subjective appreciation of the piece in hand, although that would not be here an unsafe guide; it is based on a search through all available printed material. Such search establishes the point that however betrayal of the girl may be viewed—warned against, guarded against, stormed against, or, as it generally is, treated mockingly and brutally, *bestiali more*—it is never but this once made the theme of a dolorous song. Here again, as in the case of the *verna suspiria feminae* and the "Nun's Complaint," we have a unique utterance.

The source of it, I believe, lies close at hand. Either it is one of the vernacular *frauenlieder*, examples of which we have in German *minnesang* and some of which find their direct origin in the *volkslied*; or the source may be the personal experience of the poet himself—something suffered or seen by him. For the first we should posit a rough or maimed snatch such as—

Komm her, lieb Janche,
 Komm her zu mir.
 Es ist geschehen,
 Es ist vorbei;

beautifully deepened and environed by an individual atmosphere. For the other possibility we should imagine a poet like the sympathizing younger Schiller of the *Kindsmörderin*, or a Stephen Phillips when writing *The Wife*. Nor is this latter supposition nullified by two or three turns of speech in our poem which critics feel to militate against the pathetic value of the piece: *callide*, for instance, *nam venter intumuit*, etc. They do not indicate to my mind either rawness of statement or boastfulness of attitude on the part of the deceived girl. Consider:

The world is gay with flowers and love requited. Surrender to it has brought on an unheeding head shame, misery untold, and the end of all things. A girl has lost more than life; she does not reason, she seeks no comfort in excuse or protestation, she feels no remorse. In a short blunt fashion she reviews the story as she has done a hundred times before: she has loved "skilfully," her mother strikes her, she is a mock, her love is fleeing, and so over and over again. How could a mediaeval poet better picture the scene; how would a mediaeval maiden suffer. In just this way, or with a flood of protestation and wringing of hands?

There is another song which a Frenchman is supposed to have written because of the verse *placet plus Franciae regina*:¹ 51 the serenade to Flower of Thorn. Then why not ascribe to an Englishman No. 108a:

Waere diu werlt alle min
 Von deme mere unze an den Rin,
 Des wolt ih mih darben,
 Daz diu chünegin von Engellant
 Laege an minen armen.

The lady of both 51 and 108 is Eleanor of Poitou, the ideal type of beauty to two generations of poets. In neither case surely can mention of her indicate the provenience of such verses. Would

¹ Although Mr. Rand believes one might rather reason that France is not the author's country, but a land idealized and remote. "*Persarum vigui rege beatior* was not written by a Persian."

it have been just tactful, or safe, in either song to have chosen in her place some German princess? But again, as before, we meet in No. 51 turns of expression which may speak for Germany. The girl is described as *prudens*, which is *klug*, and *gracilis*, which is *schlank*; she is *pulchrior lilio vel rosa*, which is simpler and more direct than the customary *rosa rubicundior*, *lilio candidior* (136) or *nivei candoris*, *rosei ruboris* (118). The world is well lost for her, even the queen of France.¹ Death impends if she does not cure him by a kiss, as ever in the *volkslied* where *mund* conveniently rhymes with *gesund*.² It does not seem hardy to believe the germ of much of this song is a *volkslied*, however much Latinized the remainder of the song may be. We should not perhaps be overready to translate Latin songs back into German popular diction in order to establish a close connection between them, but on the other hand we must not studiously avoid the thickening traces of this diction which is now to meet our eyes, simply because it is found in Latin lyrics.

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¹ Who reads these lines without thinking of the 'vieille chanson' quoted by Alceste in *Le Misanthrope*—

Si le roi m'avait donné
Paris sa grand' ville,
Et qu'il me fallât quitter
L'amour de ma mie,
Je dirais au roi Henri:
"Repreniez votre Paris.
J'aime mieux ma mie, o gué!
J'aime mieux ma mie!"

although this thought is one of the commonplaces of mediaeval poetry; cf. Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours* (1883)², p. 217, who quotes instances from Provençal, French, and Italian, as well as from German.

²Cf. also *Carmina burana*, Nos. 42, 102, 136a.

THE FRENCH PAST DEFINITE, IMPERFECT, AND PAST INDEFINITE

Prolonged as have been the discussions of the relative value of the past tenses, many individual cases of the occurrence of the imperfect and perfect are still refractory when measured by the usual definitions, and weary if not wearisome is the travail of certain writers who strive to fit them to their respective beds. Yet these procrustean efforts have not been without their value, above all if they have prepared our minds to readjust in some measure the framework into which the unfortunate *praeterita*, willy nilly, have been thrust. The definition which makes of the imperfect the tense for continuation or repetition may seem, when liberally viewed, broad enough to offer a place even to the wanderers who in various languages and epochs surprise us by straying into this fold; for they at least, whenever and wherever begotten, show some noticeable family resemblances. Manifold examples, however, of the first or simple perfect, or, to use the French name, the past definite, must be sadly distorted if they are to fit any one of the usual descriptions of the tense. This is equally true, whether we accept the past definite as representing a single act in the more remote past, or as a tense which we are to recognize by a tag, namely, the expression or at least the vivid suggestion of a date in the past, fixing, as the French name indicates, the past definite as a point, while the imperfect is to be looked upon as a line. Similarly the second or present perfect (past indefinite) can in many instances hardly be said to mark completion in the present to any greater degree than the past definite. Further, in numerous examples the past definite marks a degree of continuance or a repetition that certainly suggests the line rather than the point, and thus seems to infringe on the domain assigned to the imperfect. Add to this an extraneous but no less disturbing element, namely, the inroads the past indefinite has made and is still making on the domain which we all recognize as belonging by right to the past definite, and we can at least feel some sympathy

for those who suspect each new discussion of tense differences of being a *salle des pas perdus*.

Let us take a few examples, of the types often cited in such discussions, in illustration of the difficulties I have mentioned. I wish to bring out through them that the past definite does not always indicate a single act in past time and is not always fixed as a point by a more or less visible dating.¹ It will be noticed also how well many of them, according to the usual definition of the imperfect, might seem to demand rather that tense.

*Petit à petit les ateliers se vidèrent.*²

*Tous perdirent leur temps; le faisceau résista.*³ (When brothers were making successive efforts to break the bundle of sticks.)

Napoléon fut un grand général.

Pendant quinze jours il travailla.

Plusieurs fois il perdit son chemin.

Elle n'eut jamais de réponse à cette lettre.

Malgré ses voyages et les soins du médecin, son mal dura.

If the impression I have formed of many of the discussions of this question is correct, their chief weakness lies in a desire to formulate definitions according to which a speaker is obliged to employ a certain tense under given circumstances regardless of his mental attitude toward the assertion he is making. The rules are too purely formal and fail to recognize the fact that the simplest thought is made up of a number of elements, some one of which the speaker usually selects and brings by one means or another into greater prominence than the rest. This is the cause which determines the choice of one or another related tense. What in a given instance determines the choice of the imperfect is not that it and it alone expresses duration or repetition in past time. Such a statement we have seen will not hold. The speaker uses the imperfect because of an intent to stress, to fix the attention upon the duration or repetition, and this the imperfect accomplishes.

With such a conception in mind, a slight alteration suffices to make the definition of the imperfect sufficient. Tense is not

¹ Even as a sign board for inexperienced travelers the naming of a date in the past may be a misleading guide. The following are excellent French: *Le lundi suivant, à deux heures précises, il entra chez son ami; Une grande tristesse tout à coup l'envahissait.*

² Daudet, *Le petit chapeau*, p. 3.

³ La Fontaine, *Fables*, IV, 13.

necessarily the mere expression of time or of some modal quality;¹ the tense is rather chosen with a view to *stressing* a temporal or modal value.

The imperfect then is the tense used to stress continuance or repetition in the past. Mere continuance or repetition does not suffice to make the imperfect indispensable, as is seen from the examples of the past definite given earlier. The imperfect is brought in only when the speaker desires to *call attention* to the presence in the activity of one of these two elements. Properly speaking, the imperfect is a present in the past. The speaker, instead of looking back into the past, as he does when he uses the past definite, transfers himself to the time of the action, so that he is an onlooker. He announces the events in a form which is, so to speak, a present; he feels them as something going on (continuing), or recurring (repeated).² The transference of himself to this standpoint is generally due to his desire to bring out the prolongation of the activity.

This conception of the tense makes clear the cases where according to more inelastic rules the past definite would be expected. If an action which occupied only a quickly passing moment is expressed by the imperfect, the abnormal stress on duration where real duration is absent indicates that the speaker is immobilizing this action in order to bring it clearly before the hearer's eyes as in a picture, and the hearer's mental vision is so intently directed to this point in the succession of moments constituting the narration that he is hypnotized into seeing it as if it were actually before him. We have here a pictorial imperfect.³

*Ils arrivaient au Pont de la Concorde, ils le traversèrent en silence, puis ils longèrent le Palais Bourbon.*⁴

*La lecture finie, le Père Alphée se dressait, marchait à grands pas. . . . Plus calme, le Père Melchior félicitait Meraut sur son livre.*⁵

¹ That tense can express modal as well as temporal quality is well known; see Herbig, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, Vol. VI, pp. 157-209.

² This is the reason why a succession of the imperfects forming a group usually indicates contemporaneous activities. They are all of a time which the speaker in his mental vision conceives of as a present, and present activities are essentially contemporaneous.

³ See Brunetière, *Le roman naturaliste*, pp. 84, 85. For Italian examples see Fornaciari, *Studi romanzi*, fasc. 2, pp. 27-39.

⁴ Maupassant, *Bel Ami*, p. 163. The two men had been walking on, absorbed in conversation. The statements which follow in the quotation as given indicate that the *ils arrivaient* does not mean "they were approaching," but "they reached."

⁵ Daudet, *Les rois en exil*, p. 33.

In explanation of the not infrequent appearance of the imperfect when a verb of saying breaks or follows the quotation, there is often cited the fact that the action of the verb of saying lasts as long as the quotation and therefore marks continuation. If this be the speech-feeling toward verbs of saying, we should look for the imperfect as the usual or even the exclusive tense when such a verb accompanies a quotation. This is by no means the case. The usual attitude with reference to these verbs when used in narration is to consider them as narrative tenses. The occurrence of the imperfect is exceptional, and is produced in this way: the speaker begins the quotation without introduction. It comes to the hearer's ear as something that is being said. When the verb of saying is reached, the introduction of a past definite would set the quotation back into its place in the narration, and instead there is a strong tendency to preserve the vividness by leaving the hearer in the standpoint he has assumed, that of an actual auditor of the words.¹ We have what might be termed an auditive imperfect.

The fixing of quickly passing events by the use of the imperfect, when applied to a succession of activities, has a striking result: it hastens these activities, for, in order that they may all be represented in one picture, they must follow each other with such rapidity that they shall seem to be simultaneous:

*Suffit, s'écria Sturel, qui rassemblait son chapeau, sa canne, ses gants, payait, se levait, décampait.*²

The past indefinite stresses that the activity named is complete at the present time. But we are the creatures of our environment and we ourselves stand in the present. Thus there is a strong temptation either to move the past up into our own time, making of it a historical present, or else to stress the element connecting it with us, its present completeness. The French has yielded to both these tendencies in an unusual degree. Even in the stronghold of conservatism, the literature, the tendency at all epochs to link the past to the present is strong save where some grappling-

¹The French does this in two ways: by the use of the imperfect or of the historical present. English, which lacks the first resource, makes constant colloquial use of the second: "says he."

²Maurice Barrès, *Les déracinés*, p. 344.

hook, such as a date or a set position in a series of events, causes the stress to rest rather on the temporal remoteness from us of the activity mentioned, and here the writer, especially the historian, loves to transport the action, grappling-hook and all, bodily into the present. In the spoken language past indefinite and historical present have between them left no place for the past definite.¹ Adam and Abraham, Helen and Héloïse, Caesar and Charlemagne, if they are to come out of limbo at all, must take their place in the full glare of the boulevards, and there is no escape from our own day and generation save in prophecy.²

Now if the imperfect stresses duration or repetition in the past, and the past indefinite stresses completion in the present of a past action, what is the domain of the past definite? Here we find a complexity in marked contrast to the imperfect and past indefinite, a complexity going back to the Latin, which owed it in turn to the various elements of different origin and value that were united in the perfect tense. Thus the Latin perfect embraced the *s*-perfects, *v*-perfects, reduplicated perfects, and the participial *-tus* ending in passives and deponents, and was capable of a variety of stress which rivals that of its French successor. What wonder then that there is difficulty in giving a definition of the past definite that will cover all cases. Stress there is, now on one thing, now on another. At times it is on the non-duration of the action—the point as contrasted with the line; at times on the inception or the completion of the action, attention being directed to one point in the line; at times the speaker is interested only in summing up continued or repeated action or in stressing the reality of his assertion or the fact of its lying wholly in the past. The past definite is the only genuine past tense. It embraces those assertions of past activity in which the person employing it does not assume the position of a bystander viewing an activity which

¹So also the Latin perfect with its perfect and aorist functions, instead of being a tense with two distinct values, probably represents only an adjustment of past actions in general to a present standpoint.

²Even here we are none too safe, since *je partirai demain* is, historically considered, equal to *j'ai à partir demain*, and since we can also say *je pars demain*. The conversational tenses are then the real present, the historical present, the present perfect, the future and future perfect, replaced at times by the present and present perfect, and finally the imperfect and pluperfect, which rather than true past tenses are pictures on the walls of the present.

extends up to him (present perfect) or in spirit placing himself near the distant event (imperfect). He is looking back at the distant activity.¹ This fact explains why assertions represented by the past definite can so often be analyzed as resembling a point in space as contrasted with a line. The distant view is not suited to emphasizing the extensiveness of an object or to stressing the prolongation of an activity. The railway train far off down the track is but a dot; the events of a long episode in early life may seem as we look back hardly more than a mere point.

The essential trait then of the past definite is its removal of the activity from the sphere of the present. This does not necessarily result in stressing any particular phase of the activity, but does not exclude the stressing of one or another phase. From the standpoint of stress it determines a negative definition. The past definite represents past action in those cases where the stress is not on continuation, repetition, or completion in the present. The assertion may, and often does, involve any one of these three but the stress will not be there, for to direct special attention to these you will either take the attitude of the onlooker and employ the imperfect or you will bring the activity into relation with the present and employ the present perfect. From a practical standpoint then the past definite may be considered as occupying the field left free by the imperfect and past indefinite. If there be such a thing as a simple statement of a past activity without stress on any element, it will go into the past definite. If there be stress on some element the past definite will still be used, provided this stress is not on duration, repetition, or completion in the present.

Let us apply this to some of the typical cases where we find the past definite. *En m'entendant, aussitôt il s'arrêta*; the stress is on the non-duration of the action. *Tout à coup il parla*; the speech which followed may have been long, but attention is particularly directed to the beginning of the action: "he broke the silence." *Petit à petit les ateliers se vidèrent*; the activity was continued for some time, yet the stress is not on this but on the

¹ See Gildersleeve's comparison of the Greek aorist and imperfect, *AJPh.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 250-52. Corbett's *English Grammar*, reprint of 1906, p. 135, furnishes an example which brings out clearly the contrast of the visualizing value of the imperfect and the backward look of the past definite: *Tous les jours les ouvriers donnaient de l'argent aux tyrans, qui en retour donnaient aux ouvriers des cachots et des haches.*

fact that it was carried to completion: "the workshops became empty." When one brother after another had tried to break a bundle of sticks, La Fontaine says: *Tous perdirent leur temps; le faisceau résista*; the stress is not on the time consumed but on establishing the fact. *Il fut tout puissant; personne ne le craint plus*; here you are stressing not the fact of the duration of the activity but the fact that the activity lies wholly in the past. *Il était tout puissant* stresses the duration, and *il a été tout puissant*, which could have been used even in literary style in this very sentence, would stress the present termination rather than the past existence of his power. *Pendant un mois il partit chaque matin à sept heures; pendant quinze jours il travailla*; here there is certainly stress on repetition in the one case, duration in the other, but note that this stress is brought out independently of the verb by a separate phrase, and the law of economy dispenses with again expressing it through the tense of the verb, unless it is desired to give an additional stress to the element of duration. Similarly, when the meaning of the verb in itself implies continuation or repetition, the imperfect is not used save to lay an additional stress on the duration or repetition of the action: *Malgré ses voyages et les soins du médecin, son mal dura*.

As the past definite is the true past tense and represents the backward look, it tends to sum up and to give a comprehensive view of the whole activity. Thus it usually implies for us the completion of all the stages, beginning, period of activity, and end. The imperfect, representing the view-point of an onlooker, fixes some one moment in the activity, namely the one chosen by this onlooker, and neglects the rest. Thus it does not definitely embrace the inception and conclusion, and tends therefore to leave the duration of the activity undetermined.¹

¹ Kalepky, in his illuminating articles on the two tenses (*ZfRPh.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 498-510, and "Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Volk-Realgymnasiums," *Program* Nr. 106, 1904), would even make the implication of a completion of all the stages of the activity the sole test of the past definite, and the absence of such an implication the test of the imperfect. Examples of imperfects of the types cited above from Maupassant, Daudet, and Barrès seem, however, to imply the completion of all the stages, and Kalepky's assertion that stress on the beginning of an action, with neglect of the completion, so frequent in the past definite, is not due to the use of that tense, but is a second meaning (inchoative), common to all tenses of the verbs in question, needs historical corroboration before it can be accepted. See Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik*, Vol. III, §118, and also Kalepky, *Program*, p. 13, note.

Since the past tense to be used in a given instance is determined by a question of stress, of view-point, there will surely arise cases in which the choice will depend on the purpose or even on the general tendencies of the speaker. In a large majority of instances where we find the imperfect, it is the only admissible tense; in quite a number, however, this is not the case. In the following passage Zola might have employed the past definite: *Lui aussi la chassait, l'injuriait, en sentant remonter à ses joues le sang des gifles qu'il avait reçues. Mais elle ne se rebutait pas, elle l'obligeait à jeter la hache, elle l'entraînait par les deux bras, avec une force irrésistible.*¹ It must not be thought, however, that in such instances as this the imperfect and the past definite would have just the same value. The imperfect, fixing and prolonging the action, gives us a picture; the past definite is simply a narration. Certain modern authors, beginning with Chateaubriand, have a strong tendency toward imperfects,² some of them carrying this visualizing process to the extent of an abuse.

With the extension of the use of the past indefinite until, in addition to its original value, it has assumed in spoken French the functions of the past definite, the field of the past is, in conversation, divided into two parts, and a simple method of teaching the colloquial use of the past tenses is to define the sphere of the imperfect, leaving the rest of the ground to the past indefinite. The imperfect will be used when the speaker desires to lay stress on the duration, whether on account of its inherent importance or in order to visualize; elsewhere the past indefinite is the proper tense.

If this discussion has attained its end, I hope it may direct attention to the influence of stress as an element in determining the choice of tense, and to the possibility of simplifying in some measure tense-teaching by using, at least as one means, a negative test in explaining the use of the past definite or its conversational equivalent.

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¹Zola, *Germinal*, p. 416. Note the readiness with which there could be employed here the other method of visualization, the historical present.

²Compare for example the opening chapter of René Bazin's *Les Oberlé*, and numerous passages in Zola's works.

DUTCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE VOCABULARY OF ENGLISH IN AMERICA

DUTCH REMAINDERS IN NEW YORK STATE

The present paper lays no claim to completeness of statement. It is only a contribution to the subject, and but a beginning, both in the collection of material and the formulation of result, of the far-reaching and thoroughgoing investigation that the importance of the matter ultimately demands. To make such an investigation definitive would require a much more assiduous collection of the detailed facts of the case than has been attempted; and some of its most interesting phases have not even been touched upon. What has been got together is the apparent that lies near the surface, and much of it is well known. There are, however, questions to solve of sound and sense whose reasons lie deeper than the mere persistence of form, and into this wide field no attempt has here been made to venture.

The question of Dutch influence upon the English language in general is a comprehensive one. Roughly, there are three different heads under which it may be considered. First, the influence upon the common language, exerted at widely different times from Holland out, or in some cases from Holland through France, directly upon the English of England and then disseminated through the English-speaking countries. This influence was undoubtedly greatest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a result, on the one hand, of the extensive migration of Netherlanders to England, which began by the middle of the sixteenth century and reached its culmination during the reign of Elizabeth, and, on the other, of Holland's long commercial supremacy. The list of words introduced in this way and incorporated in the English vocabulary is comparatively a large one. Skeat gives in the *Etymological Dictionary*, with greater or less certainty, no less than 188. These words are of all kinds and embody some of the most familiar ideas in the language.

A second phase of this Dutch influence upon English also concerns the common language. It is this time exerted, however, not directly from Holland upon the English of England, but in its first process is the influence of colonial Dutch upon colonial English, which is followed by an ultimate acceptance, more or less complete, by the common vocabulary. The words thus introduced have come in at widely different periods, beginning with the early explorations of the English in Africa, where the Dutch had preceded them, and extending down to the present day. From the early time are the names, in particular, of many animals, *blesbok*, *springbok*, *steenbok*, *aardvark*, *eland*, *hartbeest*, and others; and words that have obtained even a wider currency, like *veldt*, *trek*, *inspan*, *outspan*, *commando*, *Boer*, and others, descriptive, in the nature of the case, of specific objects and conditions in a new environment. To these older words have more recently been added, especially from the late Boer wars, what is for the time being a rather long list of other words adopted for similar reasons, and especially by journalists, of a closer indication by their use of the conditions of specific locality. Many of these words used in the daily press and in contemporary novels and stories are doubtless doomed to speedy forgetfulness, and will never find their way into English dictionaries as permanent parts of the language. Others, however, have both a present and prospective importance and have doubtless come to stay. The dictionaries of the future must surely gloss, in this way, *commandeer*, *inlander* and *outlander*, *kop* and *kopje*, *laager*, and many others of the same sort.

The third of the categories under which may be included this matter of Dutch influence is the one with which this paper is immediately concerned. It is an influence exerted, in this instance, not upon the common English language, but upon the English language spoken in America. Sporadically, some of the words concerned crop up, here and there, in English books, but it is not likely that many of them, thus become specifically American by adoption, are in actual currency in England as elements of the general vocabulary. The influence this time proceeds from Dutch colonists who were not only the first, but for a considerable period were the only Europeans on the ground. They were presently,

however, as a power entirely supplanted, and though for a long time the two forms of speech, Dutch and English, managed to exist side by side, and even to some extent have continued to exist in this manner to this very day, Dutch is continually a vanishing quantity. Except in what is an insignificant part of its early territory, it has ceased to be spoken at all, and now lives only in scattered words and phrases, in a few proverbs and sententious sayings, in nursery rhymes and jingles frequently half forgotten or so disfigured and distorted as to be unintelligible to reciter and hearer alike, or in place-names that tell where the settlements of Dutchmen were located.

It is the purpose here to exhibit in some of its aspects the extent and character of this Dutch influence, as it now appears in those parts of New York State once settled and inhabited by Dutchmen. It is possible to do this only partially, but an idea may at least be given of the nature of these remainders and reminders of old language conditions that but for such traces have passed away and in their real significance are destined rapidly to be forgotten.

The history of Dutch influence in America has its beginning in 1609, when Henry Hudson the navigator, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch "East India Company," sailed the "Half Moon" into the mouth of the great river that was ultimately to bear his name. During the next years, various Amsterdam merchants fitted out ships to barter beads and cotton cloth to the Indians for the rich peltries of the country, and by 1613, four houses had been built on Manhattan Island. The colonization of New Netherland really began under the "West India Company" in the spring of 1623, when the ship "New Netherland," with the first party of permanent colonists, arrived at Manhattan. Here some of them went ashore, while others proceeded up the river to Fort Nassau, just below the site of Albany—after a bit moved upstream to the site of Albany and rechristened Fort Orange—where a garrison of a dozen men had been placed some years before by the "United New Netherland Company." Another party of the same ship's company settled at a bay on the inshore of Long Island, subsequently called Wallabout. In 1626, Fort Amsterdam was built on the island of Manhattan, to protect the

settlement of over thirty log houses in which lived the greater part of the population of 200 souls, which in 1628 had increased to 300.

In 1629, the "West India Company" issued its charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" setting up the institution of "Patroon," or lord of the manor. The first of the patroonships, established, in 1631, within the present state of Delaware, was brought to an ignominious end by massacre and famine and was soon abandoned. The next one, set up by Michael Pauw, who secured the region about Hoboken and Jersey City, together with the whole of Staten Island, so called in honor of the *Staten*, or States General, was only partially successful, and at the end of seven years was sold out to the company. The settlement, nevertheless, remained on the site of Jersey City, and the name of the original patroon has come down to this day in Pavonia.

The only entirely successful one of these earliest attempts at colonization was made by Kilian van Rensselaer, who acquired the greater part of what is now Albany and Rensselaer Counties, and settled in the region about Rensselaerwyk his colony of artisans and farmers.

During the succeeding years, the Dutch population does not seem materially to have increased. Colonists do not come out in any great numbers, and, as Fiske points out in his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, there is at this time "only a considerable trading station, with a group of tiny settlements" to represent the whole of the Dutch occupation.

A new era began, however, in 1638, when more attractive inducements to immigration were made by the "West India Company." Houses were presently built on Staten Island, and settlements were made on Long Island, at Gravesend, Flatlands, and Brooklyn. At Tappan on the Hudson a new colony was begun, and shortly after another settlement was made at Hackensack, and by and by at Yonkers. In 1649, a still more decided impulse to colonization was given by the mission to Holland of Van der Donck, the *Jonckheer* who had given its name to the manor just mentioned and the author of the *Description of New Netherland*.

In 1653, the population of New Netherland was about 2,000. In 1664, it was nearly 10,000, of which 1,600 were in the city of

New Amsterdam. It was not, however, by any means, exclusively a Dutch population, a fact that was particularly true of New Amsterdam itself. Settlements at this time extended widely over Staten Island and Long Island, which already had, however, a considerable English intermixture, up both sides of the Hudson to Albany, or Beverwyck, as it was then called, and beyond, to the northward, as far as Schenectady.

In this year of our Lord, 1664, New Netherland was granted, over the heads of the Dutchmen, by Charles II to his brother the duke of York, and on September 4, with the fluttering of a white flag over Fort Amsterdam, the rule of Holland in America came to an end. The temporary resumption of Dutch sovereignty, in 1673-74, has no significance for our purpose.

It does not appear that after the English occupation there is any considerable accession to the Dutchmen in America from without. From within, they continued to increase and multiply, for they were and are a persistent and prolific race, and they gradually extended their settlements all along the valley of the Hudson, and into considerable areas back on either side from the river in New York and New Jersey, and up into the valley of the Mohawk. Long Island, Staten Island, Manhattan Island, the counties of Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess, Columbia, Rensselaer, and Washington, to the east of the Hudson, and Rockland, Orange, Sullivan, Ulster, Greene, Albany, Schoharie, Schenectady, Saratoga, Herkimer, and Montgomery, to the west, is the territory in New York state in which, in addition to parts of New Jersey, the Dutch influence impressed itself most firmly and where, to this day, it has most actively survived.

In this hurried summary of the Dutch settlement no account has been taken of Fort Nassau on the Delaware or of Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, both begun as early as 1623. An influence upon the language exerted from the first of these is inconceivable, and from the second is problematical and not readily controlled. To other conditions of contiguity and intercommunication, and not to this, are doubtless due the few Dutch words that have come down to the present day in the local language of New England.

The first period of the history of New Netherland, from the earliest time to the English occupation, is, of course, the Dutch period *per se*. In it the language of the entire region described is predominantly, and in some parts exclusively, Dutch. The people, although in new surroundings, still lived and thought and spoke as Dutchmen. A few even wrote as Dutchmen and thus made a number of American contributions to the Dutch literature of the period. Jacob Steendam, the first poet of New York, wrote here at least one of his poems, the "Klagt van Nieuw-Amsterdam," printed in Holland in 1659, and from this same period are the occasional verses of two other Dutch poets, Henricus Selyns, the first settled minister of Brooklyn, and Nicasius de Sille, colonial councillor of state under Governor Stayvesant.

It will be seen that the actual period of Dutch immigration extended over scarcely more than forty years, but the period of language influence lasted infinitely longer. Owing to the conditions of colonization, which had begun even under the Dutch régime and were now rapidly developed under English sovereignty, the Dutch language inevitably made way before the English language. That this happened unequally in different parts of the country settled by Dutchmen followed as a matter of course. Fiske, in the book already quoted, calls attention to the difference in the attitude toward the old and the new in different localities at a little later date. Writing of the middle of the eighteenth century, he says that at that time, what as truly might have been said of any time during the Dutch occupation, except the very beginning, Albany was much more Dutch than New York, which was cosmopolitan, and he adds with perfect accuracy that "in general, Dutch habits held their own with much more conservatism in towns like Esopus, or Schenectady, or Flatbush, than in the center of travel and traffic." It is, however, somewhat surprising to learn that down to 1764 the Dutch language was still used exclusively in the service of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, although Dutch had not been taught for a century in the schools. In Flatbush, on Long Island, Petrus van Steenburgh, who was appointed schoolmaster in 1762, was the first who taught English in the school that had been established more than

a century before (1659). He gave instruction, nevertheless, in both languages. His successor in 1773, Anthony Welp by name, was the last teacher who was required to teach Dutch. These last facts are cited from the excellent book by Gertrude Lefferts Vanderbilt, *The Social History of Flatbush*, which deals with the whole colonial period. The author gives what is undoubtedly an accurate picture of language conditions in the last half of the eighteenth century, manifestly true of many more places than the one of which she writes.

In 1776 [she says] in order to oblige the children to learn English, they were compelled to converse in that language in school and were punished if they spoke Dutch. At home, however, where no compulsory measures were used, they naturally fell into the old familiar words and their language there was still of the fatherland. At the fireside, on the farm, in the street, they spoke Dutch; the colored people in the kitchen, the master and mistress in the house, neighbor to neighbor and friend to friend, all conversed in Dutch. Business was transacted in that language, wills were written and agreements made in that familiar tongue; and on the Sabbath-day they read from their Dutch Bibles, sang from their Dutch Psalm books and listened to sermons in Dutch from ministers who, as late as 1746 [she is speaking of Flatbush], came from Holland.

That this Dutch that was spoken, as time went on, should become more and more perverted from its original conditions of sound and vocabulary is a matter of course. The degree to which this occurred depended wholly upon the circumstances of locality and environment.

The knowledge of Dutch influence, exerted primarily in the territory that has been described and then in part, at least, disseminated widely, is no new thing. The dictionaries have considerable lists of words that are derived directly from borrowings from the Dutch language in America. Most writers on Americanisms also take these elements with greater or less accuracy into account, and the histories which deal with the settlement of New York and New Jersey perforce use a number of them to explain the true significance of early conditions. No attempt, however, seems to have been made to collect these elements at any given time systematically together and to examine them carefully in their

linguistic bearings—a proceeding which their number and importance distinctly merit.

Of the words collected for the present investigation a number still remain about which there is doubt as to whether they should be incorporated in the list and for which it is not wholly safe to assume a Dutch responsibility. Words which have been at one time used, but have now entirely disappeared, as, for instance, *barracade*, “a home-made blanketing,” contained in both the *Century* and the *Standard* dictionaries, have not been taken into consideration, in that it has seemed preferable to make the present account of Dutch remainders a record of that which is, rather than of that which has been. It is quite apparent that a list of such material made fifty years ago would have been much greater than one made today. Some of these borrowed words have imbedded themselves fast in the vocabulary and will doubtless remain forever. Many others, on the other hand, were never firmly fixed, except, it may be, in restricted localities, and are continually in a process of disappearance. In the older books which take cognizance of such elements, like, for instance, Schele de Vere’s *Americanisms*, published in 1872, there are a number of Dutch words cited as in use of which there has been found absolutely no trace. A revision of the list thirty-five years hence would undoubtedly show precisely similar results.

An element that has greatly complicated the problem of influence in the case of English and Dutch is the inherent similarity of the two languages due both to intimate consanguinity and to parallel development along broad lines. Dutch has undoubtedly often given directly to the vocabulary shades of meaning that occur in words which by easy change, or practically by scarcely any change at all, have been fused into identity of form with words of unquestioned English origin so that it is impossible now to tell where the English influence begins and the Dutch influence ends. This fact of inherent similarity in vocabulary and phonetic form explains, also, why the number of these Dutch survivals is not greater than it is. There never was a language brought into contact with English more assimilable than Dutch. Many words are positively the same in sound and sense, and others are so near

in both respects that the slightest impetus would turn them to the majority. There is scarcely a sound in the Dutch language that is not readily convertible into its English etymological correspondent. This fact has worked itself out, of course, in the history of Dutch assimilation. It has tended toward the ready absorption of Dutch elements into the vocabulary, and it has frequently covered them up so deeply that they are no longer to be recognized in their original genesis.

The *Century* and *Standard* dictionaries record a number of words, in more or less common usage, that they recognize as of undoubted Dutch origin. The list of these words as they have actually been collected in the territory under consideration is as follows:

- boss, n., master, patron [Du. *baas*].
 clove, n., cleft, ravine, pass [Du. *kloof*].
 cold'-slaw', cole'-slaw', n., sliced cabbage served as a salad [Du. *kool*, cabbage + *slaa* <*salade*, salad].
 cook'y, cook'ey, cook'ie, n., a small sweet cake [Du. *koekje*].
 crull'er, n., a fried sweet cake [Du. <*krullen*, to curl].
 dom'ine, dom'inie, n., a clergyman [Du. *domine*, a Protestant clergyman]. *Satch?*
 dope, n., a thick liquid [Du. *doop*, sauce, gravy].
 dorp, n., village [Du. *dorp*].
 kill, n., a creek, stream, channel [Du. *kil*].
 kill'-fish', kil'li-fish', kil'ly-fish', kill'lie, n., a fish, especially *Fundulus heteroclitus* [Du. *kil* + fish]. The Dutch word was doubtless *kilvisch*.
 o'ly-koek', o'ly-coek', better o'ly-cook', pronounced also ol'ly-cook', n., a sweet cake fried in fat, a doughnut [Du. *olie*, oil + *koek*, cake].
 patroon', n., proprietor of a manor [Du. *patroon*, patron, master].
 Pink'ster, Pinx'ter, Ping'ster, n., Whitsuntide; now only in Pinkster-bloom, Pinkster-flower, the wild azalea [Du. *Pinkster*. Du. *Pinksterbloem* is the peony].
 Santa Claus, Klaus, n., Saint Nicholas [Du. *Sant Klaas* dim. of *Nikolaas*].
 scow, n., a flat-bottomed boat [Du. *schouw*].
 scup, n., vb., a swing; to swing [Du. *schop*, *schoppen*].
 slaw, n., cabbage salad [Du. *slaa* <*salade*].
 speck, spec, n., pork, fat [Du. *spek*, bacon, fat, lard].

The statement in the *Standard* that "the form *speck* is due partly to G. *speck*, and partly to D. *spek*" is undoubtedly correct.

- spook, n., vb., a ghost; to haunt [Du. *spook*].
 stoop, n., entrance platform at door of a house, porch [Du. *stoep*].

vly, fly, vley, vlei, vlaie, n., a swamp, marsh, shallow pond [Du. *vallei*, valley].

waffle, n., a batter cake [Du. *wafel*].

The following words are contained in the two dictionaries, but with no suggestion of a Dutch origin:

blick'ie, blick'ey, n., a tin pail [Du. *blíkje* (dim.), metal basin, bowl].

Century: [N. J.] but with no suggestion of origin; *Standard*: <Penn. D. *blech* <G. *blech*.

The ending *-ie, -ey* shows indubitably that the word has come from the Dutch diminutive.

tin blickey also occurs, with an obliteration of the real sense of *blickey*.

bush, n., a wood, grove, thicket, as in "sugar-bush," "Flatbush" [Du. *bosch*, same meaning].

Neither the *Century* nor the *Standard* suggests a connection of the word in this meaning with Dutch. The usage is not English; and in the many instances in which the word occurs alone, e. g., "to take to the bush," or as part of a compound in America and Africa, e. g., "bushman," "bushranger," "bushwhacker," and the like, it has undoubtedly come in through Dutch influence, exerted at one time or another, upon the vocabulary. *Standard*: **bosch**, [S. Afr.], with its true signification, but does not connect it with the above word. Both the phonetic form of the original and the presence of **bush** in the English vocabulary have made the thorough incorporation of the word possible.

dob'ber, n., a fish-line float [Du. *dobber*, same meaning]. *Standard*:

[Local, U. S.], but no suggestion of Dutch origin. Not in *Century*.

dumb, adj., stupid, dull [Du. *dom*, same meaning]. *Century*: [Local, U. S. In Pa. this use is partly due to the G. *dumm*.] *Standard*:

[Local, U. S.] Compare G. *dumm*.

The word in this sense has come in from both Dutch and German, according to locality, since it is used in territory where there is no thought of German influence, and, again, where there could have been no Dutch influence exerted.

file, vb., to scrub, mop, scour [Du. *feilen*, same meaning]. *Standard*: [Local, U. S.] Vb. not in *Century*.

file, n., mop [Du. *feil*(?) same meaning.] *Century*: In some parts of U. S., a cloth used in cleaning or wiping the floor. Also *file-cloth*. Not in *Standard*.

- pit**, n., the hard kernel of certain fruits [Du. *pit*, kernel, pith.] *Century*: Variety of *pip*, by confusion with *pit* [U. S.]. *Standard*: [U. S.] Variety of *pip*.
- slaw'bank**, n., a folding bed [Du. *slaap*, sleep + *bank*, bench; compound Dutch word in same meaning]. *Standard*, no etymology suggested. Not in *Century*.
- snoop**, vb., to pry into. Hudson and Mohawk valleys, to eat stealthily [Du. *snoepen*, to enjoy stealthily, to eat in secret]. *Century*: [Probably a variety of *snook*, M. E. *snoken*, to lurk, pry about]. *Standard*: [For *snook* < L. G. *snoken*, search].
- snoop'er**, n., one who snoops [Du. *snoeper*, same meaning]. *Century*. *Standard*.
- snoop'y**, adj., sly, stealthy [Du. *snoepig*, same meaning]. *Standard*. Not in *Century*.

All of these words, it may confidently be asserted, owe their presence in the vocabulary to Dutch influence.

In the following words the Dutch origin is correctly assumed by one or the other of the two dictionaries, but not by both:

- hook**, n., point of land, cape [Du. *hoek*, same meaning, e. g., Hoek van Holland]. This sense of the word is Dutch and not English. *Standard* has correctly [< D. *hoek*]. *Century* suggests no connection with Dutch.
- hoop'le**, n., a child's hoop for trundling [Du. *hoepel*, (dim.) hoop]. *Century*: [Dim. of *hoop*, after D. *hoepel*]. *Standard* suggests no connection with Dutch.
- Paas**, n., Easter [Du., *Paasch* same meaning]. *Century* has correctly (D. *paasch*). *Standard*: [Local, U. S.], but with no suggestion of Dutch origin.

The word also occurs in: **Paas-day**, Easter; **Paas-flower**, the yellow daffodil.

- wink'le-hawk'**, n., an angular rent in cloth [Du. *winkelhaak*, a rent, tear]. *Century* has correctly (D. *winkelhaak*). *Standard*: [Local, U. S.], but with no suggestion of Dutch origin.

Also occurs as **winklê-hole**.

In the following words the correct Dutch origin is suggested by both dictionaries, but is not definitely assumed by either:

- bock'ey**, n., a dish made from a gourd [Du. *bakje*, (dim.) bowl, basin]. *Century*: Probably < D. *bakje*, dim. of *bak*. *Standard*: [Prov. U. S.], but with no assumption of Dutch origin.

fike, fyke, n., a bow-net [Du. *fuik*, a hoop-net]. *Century*: **fyke** [Perhaps <D. *fuik*, bow-net]. *Standard*: **fike** [Local, U. S.], but with no assumption of Dutch origin.

Also occurs as **fyke-net**.

log'y, adj., dull, heavy [Du. *log*, inflected *logge*, e. g., *een logge gang*, same meaning]. *Century*: [Local, U. S.] [Probably <D. *log*]. *Standard*: [Local, U. S.] [Perhaps <D. *log*].

Both dictionaries, in not taking account of the inflected form, have failed to reconcile "logy" definitely with Dutch *log*.

The following words are not found in the dictionaries at all. It is quite likely that many of them are in use only in restricted localities. Some of them, however, are widely distributed and are perfectly vital parts of the common vocabulary. It should undoubtedly be possible to add still further to this list, which, as has been said, is only tentative. The new words in their usual orthography are as follows:

afease', afeese', adj., *vide* **fease**.

aw're-griet'chies, n. pl., maize coarsely ground [Du. *aar*, ear of corn, + *grutjes* (dim.), grits]. Hudson valley.

bedrooft', bedrowft', bedruft', adj., miserable, despondent (contempt), sad, sorrowful, gloomy [Du. *bedroefd*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.

bin'nacle, bin'nakill, ben'nakill, n., the smaller channel of a river running back from the main stream [Du. *binnen*, within, + *kil*, channel].

Kil acquires in America, where it very frequently occurs in place-names and as a common appellative, a meaning which it apparently never had at home, viz., brook, stream, river; but it also is used in its original signification, as in Arthur Kill, i. e., *achter kil*, back channel. Widely used. John Burroughs, "Pepacton": "*binocle*, a still, miry place at the head of a big eddy;" *vide* also communication to the *Evening Post*, February 22, 1901, by Edward Fitch.

blaw'ker, n., a flat bedroom candlestick [Du. *blaaker, blaker*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.

blum'mie, blum'mey, n., flower, blossom [Du. *bloempje* (dim.), same meaning]. Mohawk valley.

blum'machie, n., flower, blossom [Du. *bloemetje* (dim.), same meaning]. Mohawk valley.

- boond'er**, v., to brush away, drive away [Du. *boenderen*, to scrub, brush]. Hudson valley.
- clip**, adj., stony [Du. *klip*, rock, cliff]. *Standard Dictionary*: *klip* [S. Afr.], a rock or stone, cliff, mountain. Hudson valley.
- coss**, n., wardrobe, chest of drawers [Du. *kas*, chest; *kast*, cupboard, closet]. Hudson valley.
- door'slag**, n., colander, strainer [Du. *doorslag*, same meaning]. Schenectady Co.
- fease**, **feese**, adj., disgusting [Du. *vies*, nauseous, disgusting]. To be *fease* of a thing or person: e. g., I am *fease* of him, he disgusts me; I am *fease* of it, etc., which coincides with the Dutch usage. Widely distributed.
- Occurs also as **afease**.
- geheist'**, p. p. as adj., overreached, e. g., "he's *geheist*," he has overreached himself [Du. *gehuisd*, housed, lodged, domiciled]. Hudson valley.
- grill'y**, adj., chill, raw, e. g., "to-day is so *grilly* that I shall not go out" [Du. *grillig*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.
- herk'ies**, **herk'eyes**, n. pl., haunches, e. g., "squat down on your *herkies*" [Du. *hurk*: *op de hurken zitten*, to squat; *hurkjes* (dim.)]. Schenectady Co.
- hock'ies**, **hock'eyes**, n. pl., soused pigsbones, i. e., the joints above the *pochies*, *q. v.* [Du. *hakjes* (dim.), pasterns, hocks]. Hudson valley.
- kip**, n., a word used in calling chickens, e. g., "come *kip*, *kip*!" [Du. *kip*, hen, fowl]. Schenectady Co.
- kon'kepot'**, n., gossip, huzzy, scold, e. g., *bedrufter konkepot*, a miserable scold [Du. *konkelpot*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.
- lop'pie**, **lap'pey**, n., small mat made of rags [Du. *lapje* (dim.), rag, shred, remnant]. Hudson valley.
- mol'ykite'**, n., foolishness [Du. *molligheid*, softness, mildness, weakness]. Hudson valley.
- mont**, n., basket [Du. *mand*, same meaning]. Hudson valley. Schenectady Co.
- niskeer'y**, adj., curious, inquisitive [Du. *nieuwsgierig*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.
- off doch**, n., inclosed stoop [Du. *afdak*, shed, penthouse]. Schenectady Co.
- plock**, v., to settle down [Du. *plakken*, to remain sitting, to stay long]. Hudson valley.
- poch'ies**, **poch'eyes**, n. pl., soused pigsknuckles, i. e., the joints above the toes [Du. *pootjes* (dim.), feet]. Hudson valley.
- poos'ly**, adv., tolerably, indifferently well [Du. *passelijk*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.
- prat'chie**, **prat'chey**, n., talk, gossip [Du. *pratje* (dim.), same meaning]. Hudson valley.

proyt'el, v., to boil softly, to chatter, to prattle [Du. *preutelen*, to boil, to grumble]. Hudson valley.

proyt'ler, n., prattler [Du. *preutelaar*, grumbler]. Hudson valley.

pum'mel-ap'pelye, n., the berry of the wintergreen (*Gaultheria procumbens*) [Du. *pommel*, plant (?) + *appeltje* (dim.), apple]. Hudson valley.

slob, n., bib [Du. *slobbe*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.

sluck, n., swallow, draught [Du. *slock*, same meaning]. Schenectady Co.

spree, n., a homewoven bed-quilt, usually blue and white [Du. *sprei*, counterpane, coverlet]. Hudson valley.

stone'-rawp'ie, **-rawp'y**, **ston'y-rawp'ie**, n., a stony field [stone + Du. *raapje* (dim.) (turnip) field; cf. *raaplant*, *raapakker*, *raapier*].

Stone Arabia, Montgomery Co., is apparently this word, although the connection does not seem to have been noticed. The Dutch word was doubtless *steenraapje*.

unno'zel, adj., silly, simple [Du. *onnoozel*, same meaning]. Hudson valley.

wurst, **wust**, n., sausage [Du. *worst*, same meaning]. Schenectady Co., and Hudson valley. Widely distributed.

The word in U. S. is due partly to Dutch *worst* and German *wurst*.

The borrowed words, it will readily be noticed, have, as was to be expected, only approximately kept their original phonetic conditions. The resultant English form which a word has ultimately assumed has been so largely dependent upon association through analogy that close conditions of sound-correspondence are continually disturbed and but few statements in this direction can be made of principles that are not frequently violated.

The Dutch consonantal sounds have been retained along various lines, because of identical conditions in the two languages. Unlike German, Dutch *v* is a voiced labio-dental, *w* a voiced bilabial, as in English; *s* and *z*, as in English, are dental spirants, the one voiceless, the other voiced. The Dutch *g*, as voiced guttural explosive in word or syllable initial, one of the most characteristic of Dutch consonantal sounds, however, has entirely disappeared at the expense of the English *g*. A reminiscence of the old pronunciation has been kept in the proverb: *Hain werk, hain brōd* (Du. *Geen werk, geen brood*), "No work, no bread," which

has been remembered in this form. *Ch* and *g* final have also lost the strongly guttural character that they had in Dutch, since these values are un-English.

The Dutch vowels have frequently been retained, or, in some cases, with fundamental consistency have undergone a definite change in their incorporation in the new language:

Dutch long *ā*, i. e., *a*, *aa* (*ae*), regularly appears in the English form of the words as *aw*, i. e., like *a* in English "fall."

Dutch long *ō*, i. e., *o*, *oo*, is regularly *ō*, i. e., like *ō* in English "no." "Spook," from Dutch *spook*, is an exception.

Dutch long *ū*, i. e., *oe*, has regularly been kept as *oo*, i. e., like *oo* in English "too." The exception in "cook" and "hook" is due to the analogy of English "cook" and "hook."

Dutch *a*, i. e., *a*, has been regularly kept as *o*, i. e., like *o* in English "not."

Dutch *o*, i. e., *o*, has been kept as *u*, i. e., like English *u* in "but."

Dutch *u* and *ū*, i. e., *ū* as in German *Hütte*, *ū* as in German *für*, have disappeared.

Dutch *-je* final in diminutives, in which *j* is semi-vowel, regularly appears as *-ie*, written also *-ey*.

There are exceptions to almost all of these correspondences, as has been stated, due to the working-out of analogy suggested by English forms to which they bear a likeness. In all of these borrowed words, however, the Dutch form, without exception, lies, if not immediately on the surface, then but little beneath it, where an appeal to Dutch phonetics and an active consciousness of English analogy must straightway reveal it. Some of the words collected, nevertheless, are not so readily resolvable, a fact doubtless due in some cases to a lack of knowledge of dialect forms, or, it may be, of forms obsolete in Modern Dutch; for it must be borne in mind that this influence is of the Dutch of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at which time American Dutch in the territory under consideration was cut off from the home language of Holland and left to follow out its own lines of development.

The Dutch influence, once paramount through the great part of the territory settled and occupied by the Dutchmen and their

descendants, is now but a fading memory that in many places has wholly vanished. The parts of the country under consideration that have best kept the traditions of the Dutch language are Albany and Schenectady counties, where some few people of the passing generation still speak their version of what was once the mother-tongue of their ancestors. The oncoming generation, however, knows no Dutch, here or elsewhere in this region, to speak it, and through this whole territory, with the exception of scattered words, it will soon have entirely disappeared and have become but a fact of history.

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ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHRISTINE DE PISAN

For the language of the court and of the best society in Paris during the closing years of the fourteenth century and the opening years of the fifteenth, there is perhaps no better illustration than the writings of Christine de Pisan. Brought up at the court from the age of five, as she was, and patronized all her life by men and women of the highest rank, it scarcely needs proof that she wrote the dialect of the Ile de France.¹

In this study the language of Christine is compared with that of her contemporaries and more immediate predecessors and successors of the middle-French period, and especially with the language of the sixteenth century as presented in the "tableau de la langue" in Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's *Le seizième siècle en France*. In her morphology, only such forms are mentioned as seem to add something to the sum of our present knowledge of the French language of this period. It is hoped that much repetition has thus been avoided, and that the results of the study may be more apparent and hence helpful.

The works of Christine here studied are those most commonly accessible:

Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan, 3 vols., published by the Société des anciens textes français.

Le livre du chemin de long estude, published by Robert Püschel.

Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles (Ch. V.). (In three parts; cited by part and chapter.) Published in the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, by Michaud et Poujoulat.

Her long poems are cited by line:

Poissy "Le dit = de Poissy."

Juge. = "Le livre des trois jugemens."

Debat = "Le debat de deux amans."

Rose = "Le dit de la rose."

Ep. = "Epistre au dieu d'amours."

Ep. à E. M. = "Epistre à Eustace Morel."

¹ Cf. E. Metzke, "Der Dialect von Ile de France im XIII. u. XIV. Jahrhundert," *Herzog's Archiv*, Vols. LXIV, LXV.

Duc = "Le livre du duc des vrais amans."

Past. = "Le dit de la Pastoure."

Or. = "L'oroyson."

En. Mo. = "Les enseignemens moraux."

Pro. Mo. = "Prouverbes mouraulx."

C. = "Le livre du chemin de long estude."

D. & H. = "Tableau de la langue française au seizième siècle" in *Le seizième siècle en France* (7th edition).

Nyrop = *Grammaire historique de la langue française* par KR. Nyrop, 2 vols. (Vol. I, 2d ed., 1904.)

The examples for orthography and morphology are taken principally from the three volumes of the *Œuvres poétiques*.

VOCABULARY

The language of Christine de Pisan is a rich storehouse of both the old and the new. While she is a daring neologist, and while she often fashions her sentence in imitation of the Latin, she uses so many forms "déjà moisies," that her language bears a peculiarly archaic stamp. Michaud and Poujoulat, who publish in their collection of memoirs *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, feel constrained to publish also a translation of it in modern French, while it is not thought necessary to publish a translation of the memoirs of Boucicaut written by one of Christine's contemporaries. The explanation of this is probably to be found in the fact that Christine was both a woman and a poet and hence doubly conservative, however much given to climbing the ladder of speculation (C., l. 1641), or to original research (*Ch. V. III*, 67). By the side of old words, some of which were evidently obsolete or obsolescent in her time, and many of which never entered classic French, are found synonyms current today: el, autre chose; ambedeux, tous deux; oncques, jamais; toudis, toujours (without the s of tous in Past. 1398); pesme, le pire, très mauvais; moillier, femme; vis, viaire, contenance, chiere, visage; estovoir, falloir, estre mestier, estre nécessaire, afferir, convenir; cautelle, barat, boisdie, triche, tricherie, tromperie, menterie, faintise, feintié, fraude, decevement, decepvance, decepcion, ruse; ressognier, cremir, douter, redouter, craindre; apaisier, amaisier, recoisier, amolier, alegier, assouagier, adoulcir; sade, sanée, sage; esmeré, monde, pur; folie, folour,

folage, foliance, sotie, desverie, forsennerie, forsennement; o, atout (Rose 100), avec (Rose 452); nacelle, nef, batel, vaissel, barge, navire; renommée, renom, fame, loenges (Debat 1703), loz, pris, honneur; tollir (toloir), embler, oster; mahagner, blesser; engres, entalanté, ardent. Mar (Vol. I, p. 170) is still several times used by the side of "en la male heure" (Past. 1840), now itself obsolete. Christine was the precursor of the modern novelist in describing the pains and joys of love. The lover has a mesaventure, a meschance; it is to him an infortune, adversité, mal, grief, miseur, meschief; it is considered by him a durté, grieffté, nuisance, aspresce, desplaisir, maleurté (Vol. III, p. 236); it induces soucis, soings, sollicitude, cuisançon, peine, tourment, esmay, anuy, with feelings of tristour, tristece, pesance, grevance, desconfort, desplaisance, mesaise, mesaisance, angoisse, causing dehait, souffrete, marrement, douleur, dueil, dueillance, destrece, hachée (Vol. I, p. 286), martire, desolacion. The lover is triste, dolent, marri, adoulé, douloureux, langoureux, messeureux, mat, dehaitié, tané, las, rabatu, flati a cas, angoisseux, alangouré, descoulouré. The gamut of "joie" found in happy love is run on the words, delit, deport, deduit, leesce, felicité, joyeuseté, baudour, plaisir, souffisance, revel, aisance, rejouissement, esbat, esbatement, esbanois (Vol. I, p. 277), beneurté, boneur (Vol. I, pp. 227 ff.), solas, reconfort, consolacion, and the lover is then content, assovi, bault, lié, haitié, esleescié, eureux, envoisié, esbaudi, esbattant, esgayé, gai, aise, joyeux, joli.

Christine, as Commynes after her (*Z.R.Ph.* I, p. 205), still uses dedens and not dans as a preposition. Chaque, which also "kommt bei Commynes noch nicht vor" (*Z.R.Ph.* I, p. 498), has not yet superseded chacun as an adjective. Fors, found only once in Commynes (*Z.R.Ph.*, p. 205), is found in Christine more frequently than hors. Moulte, which disappears in the sixteenth century before beaucoup (*D. & H.*, § 256), is regularly used by Christine. Beaucoup is found only once, and it is perhaps significant that this case occurs in one of the letters introduced into the poem "Le duc des vrais amans," "beaucoup de choses" (Vol. III, p. 167). As none of the examples of the word cited by Godefroy (biaucop in Froissart, belcop in Aubrion, A. D. 1468, etc.) present

the regular French form, *beaucoup*, this case in Christine in A. D. 1404 is of interest.

As may be seen from examples already cited, there is in Christine's vocabulary a large number of compounds now obsolete: *encharné*, *deffuire*, *emblasmer*, *encerchier*, *emparler*, *reffonder*, *mesamer*, *atasser*, etc. Some of these were perhaps of her own coining, such as *desrudir*, *deffriture*, under which Godefroy cites only the passage from her writings. Occasionally she takes liberties with words, using them in ways encountered by Godefroy only in her works, as for example, in Vol. I, p. 226, "*Moy femme ignorant non savable*."

Alain Chartier alone of Christine's contemporaries can compare with her as a "*forgeur de mots nouveaux*." Brunot has noted that her vocabulary, especially in her historical work on Charles V, contains many learned words (*Petit de Julleville Hist. de la langue et de la litt. fr.*, Vol. II, p. 364). But this statement scarcely suggests the extent to which Christine went in coining new words. By Godefroy or by the authors of the *Dictionnaire général de la langue française*, she is credited with using for the first time a large number of words: *artiste*, *vindicatif*, *compact*, *pertinent*, *circonspect*, *influer*, *invective*, *palpable*, *stimulation*, *temporizer*, *investigation*, *préparatif*, *blandices*, *transcendent*, *harangue*, etc. But the resources of Christine's vocabulary do not appear to have been exhausted even by Delboulle in his supplementary lists published in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire*. *Oppiné* is credited to Commynes, and an example of concept has been found by Delboulle in the fifteenth century, but Christine says in explanation of Aristotle's definition of *entendement* that it is "*le concept des choses veues, sceues, et oppinées par vrayes raisons*" (*CH. V. III, 5*); cf. *concept I, 13*.

Difficulté, attributed to Commynes, is repeatedly used by Christine: "*A ce donques que ceste difficulté solue soit*," etc. (*III, 64*): "*quoyque le changeur y meist difficulté*" (*III, 25*). *Pontifical* and *graduier*, of which Delboulle gives examples dated 1404, are repeatedly used by Christine, even in Part I of *Charles V*, written in 1403: "*abit royal et pontifical*" (*I, 14*); "*gradués es sciences medicinables*" (*I, 14*; cf. *III, 70*).

No earlier example of *inquisiteur* has yet been found: "parce que il fu vray *inquisiteur* de haultes choses primeraines" (III, 3); convalescence and reputation¹ appear still to be attributed to later writers of the fifteenth century, though Christine uses them more than once: "Adont leur prist a dire de tres joyeux visage et en semblant de bonne *convalescence*" (III, 71); "ce fu prince louable et de digne *reputacion*" (I, 10).

Fabuleusement appears not to have been noticed until a century later: "comme il appert que *fabuleusement* ilz ont parlé des principes des choses" (III, 68).

An example of *contreminer* is given by Delboulle (*Revue d'histoire littéraire*, Vol. VIII, p. 491, 1901), dated 1416: "doivent *contreminer* et tant faire qu'ilz viennent jusques a la mine de leur ennemis" (II, 37).

Halo appears to be still credited to the sixteenth century, though Christine uses it in 1404: "des choses achéans au souleil et aux estoilles, comme sont diverses apparences qui aviennent en elles, si comme cercles, *halo*, queues," etc. (III, 67).

Philosophique and indigneté, though used by Christine in 1402, appear not to have been found hitherto until a century later:

Priant mercis par grant affection.
Que réputé ne soit presumption
D'escripre a vous de telle dignité
A moy femme pour mon *indigneté*.

—C., l. 28.

Les lieux qui tant sont bel et gent
Ou la *philosophique* gent
Habitaient ou sommeton.

—C., l. 1025.

With quotidiennement, 1476, compare cotidiennement, 1403: "par notable et bel ordre menez *cotidiennement*" (*Ch. V. I*, 20).

Several of the words given in D. & H. (§ 7) as sixteenth-century borrowings are used by Christine: "cautele," ruse (*C.*, l. 4961, etc.); "expériment," essai (*Ch. V. III*, 28); "fiction" (*Ch. V. III*, 68); "fonde," fronde (*Duc*, l. 3258); "impetrer,"

¹ Delboulle's citation is given in the Dictionary of D. & H. with the classic spelling in *-tion*; in Godefroy with the spelling of Christine.

obtenir (Vol. III, p. 265); "répréhension," réprimande (*Ch. V. III*, 68); "sollicitude," cause de souci (*Ch. V. III*, 63); "Vigile," veille (*ibid.* 50).

Naturally, in addition to the large number of words apparently coined by Christine, she uses a still larger number of recent formation. Her vocabulary alone might prove that she had studied, for example, Oresme's translation of Aristotle, made when she was a young woman. Such words as correspondent, habile, dependance, particulièrement, retribution, motif, colérique, juriste, and rural, of which she is so fond, have been traced to him. A host of words, which are now so inextricably entangled with our thinking that thought seems almost impossible without them, appear to have been neologisms to Christine: augmentation, infortuné, possible, inhabile, injurieux, fortuné, promotion, démérite, dissimuler, interroger, instruction, expédier, divulguer, impertinent, préjudiciable, fréquentation, percussion, etc.

In Christine's best literary work, the "Dit de Poissy" and "Dit de la Pastoure," and some of her "balades," the number of learned words is naturally comparatively small. There are, however, balades which are as noteworthy in this respect as *Charles V* or the *Chemin de long estude*. On p. 212 of Vol. I is one of these. Here in twenty-eight lines are accessoires, fallible, transitoires, infallibles, corruptibles, sensibles, impossibles, where infallible is perhaps the earliest example of the word. The earliest (= "qui ne fera pas défaut") given in Godefroy is from Fabri's *Rhétorique*, 1521, more than a century later: "Si sommes folz quant pour les transitoires choses, laissons les joyes infallibles."

Although Christine was by birth an Italian and certainly familiar with her Dante, there are few traces of Italian influence in her vocabulary. The *Memoirs of Boucicaut* contain a very much larger number. Christine uses capitaine, page, ambassadeur, but others had done so before her. The only word which may perhaps have been introduced by Christine was créature, in a sense approaching that of "favori." One of her letters introduced into the "Duc des vrais amans" is signed "Vostre tres humble créature."

To complete the characterization of Christine's vocabulary, her abundant use of diminutives must be noted. In this she may fairly be said to rival Belleau of the sixteenth century. (D. & H., § 10; cf. Nyrop, § 52, 3, Vol. I: "Malherbe condamne l'emploi des diminutifs dont on avait fait un usage trop large au XV^e et surtout au XVI^e siècles.") After her prime favorite *seulette*, which she succeeds in clothing with a wealth of poetic expression, come *oiselet*, *cotelet*, *amiete*, *berbiete*, *erbette*, *allouette*, *femmellete*, *fontenelle*, *valeton*, *enfançon*, *oisillon*, *compaignete*, *jeunete*, *simplette*, *greslette*, *crespellet*, *sadinet*, *tendret*, etc.

Mignote estoie et grassete
Et riant a voix bassete
Et gente, ce disait on,
Si fus de maint valeton
Amée moult chierement.

—Past., ll. 357 ff.

Alors fichié s'est entre nous et mis
Un ventelez
Doulz et plaisant, qui nos cours mantellez
Nous soublevoit souefs et freschelez,
C'est Zephirus qui boutons nouvellez
Fait espanir.

—Poissy, ll. 151 ff.

In this "Dit de Poissy," thirty-six diminutives are lavished upon the charms of the lady heroine of the latter half of the poem, from her little chin, "*gracieux*, *sadinet*, *Et fosselu*, *vermeillet*, *mignonnet*," whose sweets cannot after all be described, "*tant est fin*, *doulcinet*," to her little foot, "*de guise nouvelete*, *Doulcetement chauciez*" (ll. 1480–1571).

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

Upon the orthography of his time, Louis Meigret, writing in 1542, said:

Il y a superfluité de l'*a*, en *aorné*, du *b*, en *debvoir*, du *c* en infiniz vocables, comme *faict*, *parfaict*; du *d*, comme *advis*, *adverse*, de l'*e* en *battera*, *mettera*, de l'*f*, en *briefvement*, du *g*, comme *ung*, *besoing*, de l'*i* comme en *meilleur*, de l'*l*, comme en *default*, et autres infinis, de l'*o* comme en *œuvre*, du *p* comme *escripre*, *escript*, et autres infinis, de l'*s* comme en *estre*, *honneste*, et autres innombrables, du *t* comme en *et*, copulative, en *faicts*, *dicts*, *vents*, et en tous les pluriels du participe

présent, du *v* comme en la diphthongue *ou* qui n'est pas française. Au regard d'*x* final, comme en *chevaux*, *loyaux*, il n'est point français." (Cf. Nyrop I, § 90.)

A grammarian of 1400 might have made almost the same criticisms of Christine's orthography as Meigret made of that of his day. *A* before *o* in hiatus is optionally silent or syllabic in Christine's verse, so that it is probable that in the common prose of the time *a* in "*aorné*" (*Ch. V. II, 16*, "*belle parleure, aornée naturellement de rethorique*") was superfluous; *b* is superfluous in such words as *soubmis*, *soubs*, *soubdain*, *doubter*, *debte*, *deboir*, etc.; *c*, in *faict*, *dictes* (pr. 5), *faictes* (pr. 5), *effect*, *auctorité*, *auteurs*, *mocquer*, *mocquerie*, *mecte*, *parfaicte*, *sainct*, *sçavoir*, *sçens*, *dictié*, etc.; *d*, in *ad* (preposition, even before a consonant), *adjouster*, *advis*, *advenir*, *admonester*, *adversité*, *mords*, *nuds*, *accords*, etc.; *e*, in *perderont* (Vol. II, p. 67), etc., forms much less frequently found in Christine, however, than in Froissart; *f*, in *neufve*, *souefve*, *briefve*, *griefve*, *nefs*, etc.; *g*, in *ung*, *besoing*, *soing*, *cognoistre*, *desdaing*, *baing*, *loing*, *enjoing*, etc.; *i*, "*comme en meilleur*" (III, 196, etc.); *l*, in *beaulté*, *nouveaulx*, *yeulx*, *doulce*, *chappeaulx* (III, p. 97), *faulte*, *vault*, *faulse*, *aulture*, *veult*, *loyaulté*, *tiltre*, *assault*, *haultesse*, *mieulx*, *oultrage*, etc.; *o*, "*comme en œuvre*" (III, p. 207); *œuf* (III, p. 31); *p*, in *compte*, *escript*, *escripre*, *recepvoir*, *sepmaine*, *decepvoir*, *dampner*, *prompt*, *loup*, *nopces*, *tempter*, *dompter*, *temps*, *corps*, *nepveus*, *niepees*, etc.; *s*, in *estre*, *honneste*, "*et autres innombrables*;" *t*, in *et* (III, p. 202, and regularly).

The only restriction that must be made is that in the plural of the participles Christine only exceptionally writes *t*: *cuisans*, *aduisans*; *faiz*, *fais*, *dis*, etc. In addition to these peculiarities of the orthography of the sixteenth century bemoaned by Meigret, Darmesteter and Hartzfeld in their manual (§ 47, § 75) call attention to others which are likewise common in Christine's. Consonants are doubled: *appercevoir*, *appeler*, *chappeau*, *soupper*, *affaire*, *refus*, *mocquerie*, *belle*, *mille*, *villenie*, *parolle*, *nulle*, *estaille*, *homme*, *couronne*, *honneur*, *donner*. Noteworthy in Christine is the frequent doubling of *t* before a feminine *e*: *droitte*, *maintte*, *ditte*, *faitte*, *taintte*; which seems, however, to be of no more pho-

netic value than the even more frequently intercalated (often where it never belonged) Latin *c*: taintte: fainte (III, p. 208); mecte: souffrecte: debte: seucte: doucecte: follecte: entremette (III, p. 271).

x has replaced *s* in *voix*, *croix* (Poissy 115); *s* is found after a long vowel even where it does not belong (cf. D. & H., § 54), "asmer" = amer (III, p. 133); "crismes" = crimes (Ep. 623); "peust" = peut (Ep. 350); "fresle" (Ep. 379; cf. *fraille*, Ep. 533); "escuismes" = écume (Poissy 431); "trosne" (I, 256). On the other hand, cf. *blamez* (I, 67). *c* is at times written for *s*: *decevrez* (Poissy 691).

ss is sometimes written for *c*, and vice versa: "mace" = masse; "nyce" = nisse; "maistrece" (Duc 3264), "maistresse" (Duc 3272).

h appears in words in which it had been lost in O. Fr. and is added to others whose Latin prototypes did not possess it: *homme*, *honneur*, *hostel*, *hostesse*, *habondance*, *huis* (*ostium*), *hui* (*hodie*) *histoire*, *humble*, *sepulchre*, *Helisabeth*, *eschole*, *deshencrée* (Debat 1155), *adnichilée* (*Ch. V. II*, 39; D. & H., § 65).

Besoignes (III Duc, p. 161), *compagnie* (*ibid.*, p. 164) are found by the side of *compaignie* (En. Mo. 93); *tesmoingne*: *s'embesoingne* (Rose 376; cf. D. & H., § 71).

gn may be reduced to *n*: *signe*: *medecine* (III, p. 23, l. 173); *commune*: *repugne* (I, p. 13, l. 10).

No case of *s* for *r* between two vowels has been found (cf. D. & H., § 72), but *r* was of slight consonantal value, modifying simply the preceding vowel: *fermes*: *termes*; *palmes*: *armes*: *blasmes* (I, 242); *fourme*: *homme* (III, p. 24, l. 198); *sage*: *voiage*: *heberge* (Debat 857); "arme" = *âme* (Duc 3053).

The peculiar forms of *veuve* are noteworthy: *vefves* (Ep. à E. M. 172); *vesve* (Juge. 71). These are perhaps written on the analogy of *souesve* (Debat 1165), *souefve* (Ep. 171).

Evangile is regularly written *euvangile* (Poissy 492; cf. Deschamps *Œuvres*, Vol. III, pp. 159 ff.). The influence of the labial is also seen in "chieux, cheux" = *chez* (Ep. 120 ff.).

Final *s*, *x*, and *z* had evidently the same phonetic value: *deux* (<duos): *amoureux*: *deulx* = *deuil*: *seulz* (<solus) (Debat 1316).

l and *f* were silent sometimes where today they are pronounced: auté = autel : beaulté (Juge. 551); chiefs : meschiefs : atachiez (Debat 801); vilz : pleviz (Rose 318).

Letters inserted to make the words resemble the Latin etyma are silent : angelz : langes (Poissy 313); champs : chans = chants (Past. 73); aimeront : rompt (Past. 55). Occasionally letters were written where they never belonged: escoutans : temps : esbatsens : contemps = contents (Debat 40). The letters dropped in O. Fr. before flexional *s*, though commonly replaced, are silent: coups : coulz (Past. 301).

The writing of *est-ce* as one word seems worthy of notice because it is so frequently found in Christine's contemporaries and successors:

Ne te voy; as tu promesse
Fait à autre ou pourquoi esce?

—Vol. III, p. 249.

Cf. "Qui esse qui m'en blasmera?" (*Ch. d'Orléans*, Book XV, Vol. I, p. 132), and respons je : longe (Debat 850).

The points at which Christine's orthography noticeably resists classical influence are in the frequent *-cion* for *-tion*, in *povre*, *pouvre* (I, p. 74, l. 10), and in *volenté*, *volentiers*; confusion: *destruction* : *entencion* (Poissy 1925).

a

The termination *-age* is often written *-aige*: *voulaige* : *couraige* (Vol. I, p. 267); *langaige* : *usage* (III, p. 301); cf. *sçay-je* : *sage* (Duc 2721; cf. D. & H., § 23).

e

ai is written for *è* and for *é*, and vice versa: *mainage* (III, p. 36, l. 2); *enamoré* : *morré* (= *mourrai*) (I, p. 72); *logié* : *j'é* (= *j'ai*) (III, p. 207); *hait* (Duc 1571); "Plain" = *plein*, "vostre *plain* vouloir" (III, p. 133); *Helaine* : *saine* (III, p. 247, l. 29).

e followed by *r* may become *a*: *pars* : *expars* = *expers* (C. 4450; cf. *expers* C. 4463); *lermes* : *fermes* : *termes* : *armes* (Juge. 844), an interesting rhyme as showing to what the modern form *larme* for O. Fr. *lairme* is due (cf. D. & H., § 25).

o

The habit of pronouncing *ou* for *o*, "De dire j'ouse au lieu de j'ose," for which Henri Estienne mocked at the courtiers of his day (cf. Nyrop I, § 160), was evidently prevalent in Christine's time, a century and a half before:

Aussi, se dire je l'ouse,
Un temps un petit jalouse
La vi, etc. — Duc 3489

prouffitable (Pr. Mo. 27); flourins (*ibid.* 49); voulentiers (*ibid.* 55); fourma (Rose 300); pourtrait (Past. 1935); but also

Bien est voir, si dire l'ose,
Que j'en fus un pou jalose.
— Past. 1910.

u

Note buvraige (III, p. 308, l. 15; cf. D. & H., § 31).

y

y is used as in the sixteenth century: diray, employer, foy, ycy, yrions, etc., joly : ly : poli : amoli (Juge. 696).

au, eau

rossignolz : mignos : aignaulx : lignaulx (Poissy 124). Eau = iau: biaux vaissiaux (Poissy 781); beaulté (Poissy 1130); beau (Poissy 1533); eaue (Poissy 145).

oi

oi is sometimes in rhyme with *è*, as already pointed out by Meyer-Lübke, Rossmann (*Rom. Forsch.* I, p. 169), and Metzke (*H. Arch.* LXV, p. 67): prestre : cloistre (En. Mo. 19); saussoies : voies : haies : gaies (Poissy 140).¹ Christine exceptionally notes *oi* by *oe*: despoeille : accueille (Debat 1862), an interesting case of contagion, though it may be a simple corruption for the sake of the rhyme.

ouë in the rhymes dourtouer : refectouer : lavouer : parlerouer (Poissy 324), couvertouer, jouer : vouer (III, p. 301), louer, parlerouer, mirouer (Or. 85, Vol. III, p. 4), is evidently to be treated as due to metathesis (cf. Nyrop I, § 518, 4 and Bijvanck's *Essai critique sur les œuvres de Villon*, p. 37). Yet it seems probable

¹ Rendait, Juge. 45, and faible, Debat 15, are perhaps simply typographical errors.

that in the case of *dortouer*, at least, there was confusion between *oi*, *oe*, *oue*, diphthong, and *ouë*, dissyllable (cf. O. Fr. *dormeör*).

Nyrop (I, § 160) notes that *poétique* is trisyllabic in Christine: "Le conteray par maniere poetique" (C. 42); but "Et meismement pouëte si soubtil Comme Ovide," etc. (Ep. 387). Since in the three volumes of her *Œuvres poétiques* published by the Old French Texts Society, the definite article is never written *el*, it is possible that *poëte* is dissyllabic in l. 5988 of the *Chemin de long estude*, edited by Püschel:

Que prince se doie fiable
Monstrer, privé et agreable
A ses gens et grans et petis,
Dit Tulle, el poete soubtilz.

oe

oe is commonly written for initial *ue*: *oeil* (Poissy 1105); frequently also in "*joene*, *joenne*" = *jeune*.

eu

eu<*ø* is still frequently written *ue*: *cuer*, *suer*, *puet*; but *peut* (Ep. 398), *veult* (Ep. 661), etc. *eu*<*ø* prevails, although *ou* is frequently found before *r*: *douloureux*: *eüreux*: *savoureux* (Poissy 1922); but *courroux*: *jaloux*: *loups*, *doulz* (Debat 1248); *demeure*, *seccueure*: *pleure*: *queure* (III, p. 247, l. 11); "*eure*" = *hora*: *acuere*: "*meure*" = *mûre*, "*au seizième siècle encore meure*," D. & H., § 34; I, p. 268, l. 18; *serviteurs*: *cuers*: *labeurs*: *feurs* (<*forum*) (Debat 1524).

-our is always found in *amour* and this word seems often to induce the use of the older form in other words: cf. "*Et tous leurs meurs femenins diffamer*" (Ep. 200), and *amours*: *mours* (Ep. 283, 284); *amour*: *demour*: *umour*: *clamour* (Debat 1904). As Nyrop says that the explanation of *amour* for **ameur* is doubtful (I, § 182), it may be added that Christine treats the word with marked respect. Though it is written with an *s* in the title of her poem, "*L'Epistre au dieu d'amours*," it is evidently from no carelessness, but in imitation of the Latin genitive *amoris*, for with very few exceptions it is only after the preposition *de* that the form with *s* is incorrectly used. No writer perhaps was so popular during the Middle Ages as Ovid, and against his "*Remedium*

amoris," "Remède d'amours" (Ep. 283), his "l'Art d'amours" (Ep. 366), she was never tired of inveighing (cf. "Dieu d'amours" in Charles d'Orléans, *Œuvres* I, pp. 3 ff.). This classing of amour among proper names, as it were, may have had no small influence upon arresting its further development.

In "Le dit de la Pastoure," the form *pastoure* (cf. Nyrop II, § 406, 1) induces such an exceptional rhyme as *oure* = *heure* : *pastoure* (l. 661). There is also *nou* = *nœud* : *Harnou* (l. 154), in the exigency of rhyme with the proper noun, and *flours* : *amours* (l. 670); but elsewhere regularly *-eur*: *heure* : *desseure* (l. 85), *couleurs* : *leurs* (l. 510); *monseigneur* : *greigneur* (l. 563); *suer* : *fuer* (<forum) (l. 914); *couleur* : *douleur* (l. 996); *honneur* : *deshonneur* (l. 1070).

Paucum is written both *pou* and *peu*. *Lor* or *lour* for *leur* is not found. *Heurter*, which D. & H. (§ 34) say becomes *hurter* in the sixteenth century, is found in this form in Christine in one of her earliest *balades*:

Car depuis lors j'ay esté si hurtée
De grans anuis —I, p. 10, l. 19.

ui

huile appears in the form *oile*; *oile* : *chandoile* (Rose 564). *anois* (: *degois*), I, p. 35, l. 11. *anuis* (: *nuys*), I, p. 40, l. 13. *poissant*, *poissance*, are the common forms, but *puissance*, III, p. 308, l. 17.

ie

The suffix *-ier* counts as but one syllable after cons. + l, r.

Et essayoit on destriers,
Haultes selles a estriers
Blanches et rouges et vertes.

—Duc, l. 929.

The *ie* out of *a*, preceded by a palatal, is not yet always reduced to *e*: *enchiere* : *biere* (Rose 172); *cuidier* : *ier* (= *hier*) (Debat 948). "*yerre*" = *lierre* (Juge., l. 489) is dissyllabic.

-eil

-eil for *-ail* in *travail*, *travailler*, made a hard fight for literary supremacy, even if it were originally dialectic (cf. Nyrop I,

§ 207, 3 R.; Meyer-Lübke, I, p. 108): *conseille* : *traveille* (Debat 1628); *merveille* : *traveille* (I, p. 18); *traveille*, *pareille* (I, p. 77). *Travail*, *travailler* are not peculiar to Christine at this period (cf. A. Chartier, *traveille* : *treille*, "La Belle Dame sans merci," *Œuvres*, pp. 506 ff.; Charles d'Orléans, *travail* : *sommeil*, *Poèmes Complètes* [ed. d'Héricault] I, p. 134; Rondeaux 43, 144, 65, 130, 167, 228).

-*euil*

-*eil* rhyming with *euil* is so frequently found in Christine and her contemporaries that Nyrop's statement, "*La terminaison -euil se trouve parfois rimant avec -eil*," seems scarcely sufficient (I, § 207, 4 R.). From the examples given by him it might readily be inferred that -*eil* : -*euil* was a phenomenon of the sixteenth century:¹ *vueille* : *veille* (Debat 1628); *soleil* : *l'ueil* (Debat 884, and Poissy 192); *conseil* : *sueil* (Debat 376); *oreilles* : *fueilles* (Poissy 1122); *veille* : *recueille* (I, p. 18, and III, p. 4); *pareil* : *orgueil* : *oreille* : *vueille* (I, p. 77); *pareil* : *je vueil* (I, p. 216, l. 26); *s'orgueille* : *pareille* (I, p. 290, l. 33); *pareille* : *dueille* (III, p. 21, l. 129); *vueille*, *dueille* : *despoeille*, *accueille* (Debat 1860); *travail* : *oeil* (I, p. 101, l. 2).

Car le regart du trés doulz oeil
 Qui m'a mis en ce dur resveil
 Si persauement
 Tant doucement
 Parfectement,
 Me navra qu'adès en travail,
 Ne ne puet despasser le sueil
 Un seul moument
 Pour nul tourment,
 Tart ne briefment,
 De mon cuer, dont je m'esmerveil
 Comment je puis avoir tel vueil.

— III, p. 315.

That Christine did not differ from her contemporaries in the use of this rhyme, abundant examples might show:

¹ Cf. Kastner's *Hist. of French Versification*, p. 74: "Occasionally the poets of the sixteenth century and those of the beginning of the seventeenth, more especially D'Aubigné and Alexandre Hardy, couple words ending in -*euil* with those in -*eil*."

Si m'assis dessoubz une treille
 Dru de fueilles a merveille,
 Entrelacee de saulx vers,
 Si que nul pour l'espesse fueille
 Ne me pouoit veoir au travers.

—ALAIN CHARTIER, "La Belle Dame sans merci," *Œuvres*, p. 506.

Pourquoy, servir je vous conseille
 De nostre maistre Nonchaloir;
 Et bannissez, vueille ou non vueille,
 Soucy, sans plus vous en chaloir.

—*Poésies Complètes de Charles d'Orléans*, Vol. I, p. 188.¹

GROUPS OF VOWELS

In the group *eû* of the O. Fr. *e* had undoubtedly become mute in Christine's time, though in the exigency of rhyme many cases are found in which it has syllabic force:

Mais la beaulté est en mon cuer conceue
 De son beau pis, quant m'en souvient j'en sue
 De grant doulour, car maintes fois receue
 Par amour fine
 G'y ay esté, etc.

—Poissy 1145.

Tant li seoit qu'il n'y avoit nulle ame
 Qui ne deist qu'oncques si doulce femme
 N'avoit vetie,
 De gaieté par a point esmeüe
 Lie, jouant et de sens pourveüe
 Si ot vestu adonc la trës esleue
 Un vert corset.

—Poissy 1594.

But again there is the same confusion. As still in the sixteenth century (D. & H., §34), this group *eû* becomes one syllable, rhyming now with *u<û*, and now with *eu<o*:

Comment chevaliers fors et seurs
 De male adquisicion purs
 Doivent estre, etc.

—C. 4403.

Si doit passer son sens
 Tous les autres en bonnes meurs
 Et en consaulx vaillans et seurs.

—C. 5508.

¹ Cf. conseil: mueil, Machaut, *Voir-dit*, l. 5705.

So likewise *meurs* (<*mores*): *meurs* (<*maturus*) (Pro. Mo. 34); *asseure*: *mesure* (Poissy 1552); *queue* (<*coda*): *seue* (<*saputa*) (Past. 125); *meseur*, dissyllabic (I, p. 9, l. 15), *boneür* (*ibid.*, l. 17). *Fusse* is found written *feusse* to rhyme to the eye with *eusse*, and *seür* is sometimes written *sur*: *süre*: *injure*, I, p. 286, l. 152; *feusse*: *eusse* (Duc 513).

Que toutes sont fausses, seront et furent
N'onques encor nulles loiaulté n'urent.

— Ep. 425.

"ut" = *eut* (Past. 1591).

HIATUS

In groups of vowels in hiatus in older French, other than that of *eü* considered above, it may be said that in *Christine*, *a* before *a* had lost syllabic force: *gaignee* (C., l. 3758); *aage* (C., l. 1101); *age* (Poissy, l. 1316), as frequently. *e* before *i* had lost syllabic force as a rule, exceptions being often found: *veissiez* (Past. 150, 160, etc.), *veisse* (Poissy 407), are dissyllabic; *veist* (Past., l. 381) is monosyllabic. *Meisme* is ordinarily dissyllabic (Debat, ll. 651, 659, 823, 955, etc.) and occasionally written *mesme* (Rose, l. 432); but *meisme* (C., l. 4659). *ea* has become regularly *a*: *chance* (Debat, l. 526); *marchander* (l. 1866); but *e* before *o* is commonly syllabic: *cheoir* (C., l. 1543), *veoir* (C., l. 756); *asseoir* (Past. 322), *reonde* (C., l. 3050). I have found only *cheoite* (Vol. I, p. 224) and *choite* (Vol. I, p. 6, l. 27) in which the *e* is lost, and *rondes* (Poissy 1154). *a* before *i* may or may not have syllabic force: *haïne* (C., l. 2243), *haineuses* (Ep., l. 634); *aimant* (Debat, l. 1174). The same hesitancy is evident in the group *ao*, *paour* being monosyllabic in Debat, l. 1859, Poissy, l. 915, and dissyllabic in Past., l. 495; *acoust* is dissyllabic in Rose, l. 647; *saoul* is dissyllabic in C., l. 4621, but monosyllabic in Poissy, l. 294:

Si fimes nous
Tres humblement, si nous reçut trestous
Si doucement que ja ne fussions saoulx
D'elle veoir;

where it is evident our pronunciation of today was used, the *l* likewise being mute. So also the *a* has lost syllabic force in the verb *saouler* in Poissy 418, but in *aourer*, it is still syllabic in Past. 2228.

Seel is monosyllabic in Rose 581.

Fléau is written fleyaulx:

Que c'est chose qui trop l'amant desvoye
Et dur fleyaulx, etc.

—Debat 972.

Reine is regularly roïne, roÿne (I, p. 227).

NASAL VOWELS

en, em, is sometimes written for *an, am*, and vice versa, as in the sixteenth century: "famme" = femme : diffame (Rose 454); "delittens" = delittans (Poissy 625); "consentens" = consentans (Poissy 1054). The various notations of *lien* are instructive for the pronunciation of *en* preceded by *i*: *liain* (Debat 1034, 463), *lian* (I, p. 90, l. 4); *lien* : *tien* (III, p. 229, l. 18). These forms with the writing of *singulière, sainguliere* (Vol. III, p. 4, l. 80), would seem to indicate that already in 1400 the difference in pronunciation between *ain* (*ein*), *in*, and *en* preceded by *i* was slight (cf. Matzke *Mod. Lang. Ass'n Pub.*, Vol. IX, p. 458). "Orliens" (Debat 1959) regularly = Orléans. "sain" = sein (Poissy 1547); villain : aim (Past. 874); ains : mains (<minus) (I, p. 75); moins : besoins (I, p. 56); non : nom (Poissy 2029); hom : raison (Poissy 2012).

D. & H. (§84) note a nasalized form of *ou* (= *en + le*) *on*, "dès le début du Gargantua." Though this *on* for *ou* has not been noticed, there are a few rhymes which would indicate that *ou* did not differ greatly from *on* in pronunciation: moult : mont (Past. 253); desmonstre : loustre (Debat 1479); fourme : homme (III, p. 24, l. 198); Longis : lougis (*ibid.*, l. 201).

MORPHOLOGY

Before flexional *s*, *d* and *t* are still generally not written: besoins (III, p. 16); coups (Past. 311); cerfs (C. 2330); blancs (Duc 1053); dis (I, p. 18); fais, tous (p. 24); amans: "Le Duc des vrais amans;" but exceptionally ditz (I, p. 116, Virelay 15, l. 15 and often); records (Juge. 890). *z* for *s*, especially used after a close final vowel as in the sixteenth century, is no longer common after *n* except in the preposition *sanx*, but after *l* mouillée *z* is still

ordinarily written. D. & H. (§ 78) say that the sixteenth century is often faithful to this tradition: "il l'étend même, puisqu'il emploie quelquefois le *z* après *l* simple:—*ilz* pour *ils*." But Christine a hundred years or more before writes *ilz* more frequently than *ils* (cf. Ep., ll. 112, 162, 206, 207, 314). Elsewhere after simple *l*, *z* is also often found: *ceulz* (Ep. 218); *telz* (Ep. 215); *loiaulz* (Ep. 241); *subtilz* (Ep. 306). Nyrop's statement, "Aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles on écrit *chevaulx* où le *l* vocalisé est représenté trois fois" (II, § 283) is true not only of Christine, who began writing before the close of the fourteenth century, but of Deschamps as well, whose literary career closed with the fourteenth century: *maulx* (Past. 402), *chevaulx* (Past. 480); *pourceaulx* (Deschamps, B. 1272); *cheveulx* (*ibid.*, B. 1266).

Words in *el* < Lt. *ellum*, still have the singular in *-el* with the plural in *-eaulx*, *-eaulz*, *-iaulx*, *-iaulz*: *chappel* (Duc 872), *chapeaulz* (Past. 279); *coutel* (Duc 901), *conteaulx* (Past. 391). No new singular in *-eau* has been found except in the adjective *bel* which becomes *beau* not infrequently when used attributively before a consonant: *beau servise* (En. Mo. 71); cf. *Cui Dieux doint mau repas* (Debat, 546). Christine is therefore very conservative in this respect, for Deschamps used the analogical form more often; cf. "Teste de veau" (B. 1272, l. 14); "nouveau fruit" (B. 1282, l. 16). Words in *el* < Lt. *alem* form the plural by adding *s* or *z*: *mortelz* (Debat 497); *menestrelz* (Duc 665). But three common words are also found with the old plurals: *tieulx* = *tels* (I, p. 56, l. 28); *quieux* (I, p. 185); *mortieulx* (Debat 501).

A few plurals used by Christine, variants not noted by Nyrop, are of interest: *consaux*, *consaulx* (Vol. I, p. 257, l. 36), is the common plural of *conseil*, though *consail*, as might be expected from the very frequent appearance of *traveil* by the side of *travail*, is not found (cf. Nyrop I, § 207, 3 R.). Deschamps uses the same forms as Christine but Ch. d'Orléans uses *conseulx* (I, B. 68; Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 355; Christine, Vol. I, p. 257; Ep. 539; C. 5510, etc.). But Christine has *apareux* (Vol. III, p. 280, l. 5).

Deuil has the plural, *deulz* (I, p. 238, l. 3), but also *dieux*; *yeux* : *dieux* : *yeulz* : *tieux* (I, p. 144, l. 221).

Fils has a plural *fielz*: "Car aux mères bien ressemblent les *fielz*" (Ep. 757). In the seventh strophe of the "Lay de Dame" in Vol. III, p. 308, *dieux* = *deuil* and *fielx* = *fiis* are nominative singulars, rhyming with *dieux* = Lt. *dei* : *mieulx* : *cieulx* : *mortieulx* : *yeulx* : *envieux* : *cieulx* = *ceux* (cf. Nyrop I, § 354 R.). *Chevriaulx* = *chevreuilx* (Poissy 573). *Lignaulx* = *ligneulx*, is particularly interesting because Nyrop says under *ligneul*: "Le pluriel *ligneulx* m'est inconnue" (II, § 318; Poissy 124).

There is no indication in Christine that the *l* in *fol* or *rossignol*, whether in the old nom. sing. or acc. pl., was ever vocalized. *Mol* with flexional *s* has not been found. "C'est leur *fol* courage" (Debat 1329); "Il est trop *folz*" (I, p. 117); "Si sommes *folz*" (I, p. 212; cf. Ep. 295, 589; I, p. 4); "les *folz* cuers" (Debat 665); *rossignolz* : *mignos* : *aignaulx* (Poissy 124). So also *espagnolz* : *mignos* (Past. 514). The same forms appear in Alain Chartier: "le *fol* peuple" (Quad. p. 422 of his *Œuvres*), "les *folz* mariniers" (Curial, p. 400). It is curious to find (Nyrop II, § 323) that Deschamps is credited with remaking a plural *molz* because he writes "Adieu *molz* liz," when he still rhymes *folz* with "mos" = *mots* (B. 1279), and writes *foulz* within the line (B. 1268).

La veissiez vous de beaulx coups
Lancier sur teste et sur coulz.

—Past. 301.

If Christine uses *vieulz*, *vieux*, in the singular it cannot be called a plural form as claimed by Lanoue in 1596 (cf. Nyrop II, § 315), but the old nom. sing.: "qu'il est ja *vieulz* homs" (Ep. 339). Verde (Poissy 162, 102; I, p. 210, l. 4) so early repeatedly used is noteworthy (cf. Nyrop II, § 413, 7).

Grande is used attributively as well as predicatively (cf. Nyrop II, §§ 385, 386). Duc offers with many examples of *grant*, three examples of *grande*: "comme elle est plus *grande*" (III, p. 165); "ces *grandes* lettres" (III, p. 174); "la *grande* lettre" (l. 3231). In the same work *grandement* is used seven times: ll. 2231, 1952, 1594, 2176, and in the prose on pp. 161, 170, 180, the old form *granment* being found only once (l. 3002). So early established, it is not surprising that, contrary to the history of new formations

of adverbs on adjectives in *-ant* and *-ent*, grandement survived. Likewise présentement (I, p. 158; cf. Nyrop II, § 386, 3).

Only once has grant been noticed written grand in Christine: "en tres grand humblece" (Duc 634).

Haultiesme appears to be a form of superlative peculiar to Christine, for it is not mentioned by Godefroy or Nyrop. It is found in rhyme only with ordinal numbers (C. 527, 1776, 4146).

PRONOUNS

No case of *ils* for *elles* has been noticed; *elz* for *elles* (Ep. 685). Once *i* is written for *il*: "Je pry a Dieu qu'i gart la blanche et blonde" (III, p. 286). The pronoun *je* following the verb may bear the accent:

Monseigneur, trop tarde jé;
S'il vous plaist, prendray congié.

—Past. 690.

"Ne d'autre riens n'ay envie
Fors que nous chantions ensemble,
Il n'y pense, ce me semble,
Autre mal et non fais jé."
"Hé Dieux! que c'est bien songé!"

—Past. 883.

Ley = le seems not to be noticed by Nyrop:

Aimes Dieu de toute ta force
Crains ley et du servir t'efforce.

—En. Mo. II.

Vueille ou non, d'un seul me souvient.
Aime ley; si feras que sage.

—Past. 1561.

Yet it is not peculiar to Christine:

Tres doulces flours, d'amour puis et fontaine,
A vous se vient rendre Eustace Morel;
Recevez lay; car qui veult vie saine
A Nyeppe voit, etc.

—E. Deschamps, Vol. III, p. 359.¹

If Nyrop's statement be true that after the fourteenth century *cui* disappears entirely from the written language (II, § 569, 3) Christine must be considered as belonging to the fourteenth rather

¹Cf. also *Le Myst. du Vieil Test.*, 1461: Privez lay du lieu de delice Comme mauldit, and also 4672, 5179, 5673, 6518, etc.

than to the fifteenth century, for she occasionally uses *cui*: "*Cui mon service ottroy*" (I, p. 232, l. 33):

Ne te pares d'autrui affiche
Car cil, cui elle est, s'on t'en loe
Tost dira que la chose est soe.

—En. Mo. 81.

POSSESSIVES

Christine uses all the modern forms but also old ones: "*la moye*" (III, p. 133); "*la moye douleur*" (Duc 1459); "*la sienne amour*" (Ep. 458); "*vostre joye et vo santé*" (Duc 1685); "*soe*" (En. Mo. 81); "*si sorcil=ses sourcils*" (Poissy 1493); "*mi oeil*," nom. pl. (Past. 2000).

THE VERB

Present Tense

D. & H., in their paradigm of the verb in the sixteenth century, give (§ 104) for the first person of the present indicative of verbs of the *partir*, *devoir* and *rendre* type, *part*, *doi*, *rend*, or *ren*, remarking (§ 108): "*Toutefois on voit paraître au seizième siècle, bien plus tôt même, dès le treizième siècle, cette s qui serait due à l'analogie de la seconde personne*," citing, "*j'entens*," "*je tiens*," and two examples of "*je suis*." According to Nyrop (II, § 118), "*Les formes étymologiques sont encore prépondérantes au XV^e siècle*." In Christine "*je suis*" is the regular form (Juge. 89, 91, 92, 141, etc.).

In verbs of the *partir* and *rendre* type forms in *s* decidedly predominate: The forms of all the verbs of these conjugations in the pr. ind. sing. 1, found in "*L'Épistre au dieu d'amours*," written in "*l'an de grace mil trois cens quatrevingt et dix et neuf*," (l. 779) are: "*je leur deffens*" (ll. 70, 744); "*je consens*" (l. 70); "*je depart*" (l. 72) (cf. pars iii, p. 191); "*je deffens*" (l. 75); "*je rens*" (l. 86); "*je dis*" (ll. 181, 206); "*je di*" (ll. 217, 611, 711); "*je tiens*" (ll. 238, 241, 282); "*j'entens*" (l. 289); "*je metz*" (l. 299; cf. *mets*, III, p. 246); "*je respons*" (ll. 313, 419); "*je consens*" (l. 670); "*je conclus*" (ll. 715, 722, 775).

The prose letters in Duc show still more plainly the prevalence of the *s* forms. Besides "*je suis*" invariably (12 times)

there are "je viens," "je dis" (4); "je dy," "je di," "adviens," "rescrips," "deffens," "tiens" (3), "escrips" (5), "promet" (2), "rens" (2), "sers," "crains," "repens," "requier."

On the other hand in verbs of the *devoir* type the *s* appears less frequently than in the sixteenth century: *aperçois* (Ep. 480); *dois* (III, p. 277, l. 13; p. 299, l. 21); *veulx* (III, p. 280); "*j'en vaulx mieulx*" (III, p. 243).

In the third person singular of verbs in *-dre*, Nyrop remarks (II, § 53, R.) that the orthography with *d* "se montre déjà au XV^e siècle." Some forms in *d* appear in *Christine*: *mord*, *s'amord*, *remord* (Vol. I, p. 15); *tend* (Past. 1094); *respond* (Past. 934, 1708); *remord* (Poissy 1333); *fond* (Vol. I, p. 91); *rend* (Debat 1076, 1077).

In speaking of the endings of the first person plural in *-on* for *-ons*, Nyrop says: "Ce phénomène est surtout propre aux dialectes de l'Ouest. On le retrouve encore au XIV^e siècle" (II, § 54, R. 2; cf. D. & H., § 109). *Christine* has not seldom forms in *-on*, *demandon* (III, p. 278, l. 2); *alion*: *deslion* (I, p. 285). Alain Chartier also uses it:

Et a nous deux vueille pardon
Octroyer qu'ainsi ne tardon
L'ung apres l'autre, ainçois gardon
Par sa pitié
Vifs et mors la nostre amitié.

—"Livre des quatre dames," *Œuvres*, p. 615.

In the second person plural of the present subjunctive, the regularity of the ending *-iez* so early as in *Christine* is remarkable (cf. Nyrop II, § 136, 3: "On ne s'est servi régulièrement de *-iez* qu'à partir de 1500").

All the cases of 2d pl. pr. subj. found in *Duc* are: *soiez* (26); *faciez* (882); *ayez* (180); *aiez* (886); *disiez* (1944, 2141); *amiez* (1445); *mandiez* (1991); *voiez* (2000); *chaciez* (133); *reteniez* (137); *ordeniez* (161); *vueilliez* (162); *sachiez* (171); *essaiez* (3184); *fortraiez* (3196); *retraiez* (3194); *deportiez* (174); *souffriez* (3266).

In the first person plural *-ions* is the regular form; *chantions* (Past. 880); rarely is *-ons* found for *-ions*: "Si est mestier que

nous en donnons garde" (III, p. 247, l. 8). Only once has *-iens* been noted: "A fin que faisiens" (I, p. 275, l. 6).

Imperfect and Conditional Tenses

The regularity of the ending *-oie* of the first person singular, *-oies* of the second person singular, and *-oient* of the third person plural, with the *e* having syllabic force, is matter for surprise in work so late as Christine's (cf. Nyrop II, § 161, 1, 2, 6):

Non obstant que mes compaignes
Veoye par ces champaignes. — Past. 368.

Il te convient regarder
A ton honneur, ou, sans doute
Tost la perderoies toute. — Past. 895.

La soubz le chaine ramage
S'assembloient pastourelles — Past. 139.

Cf. Past. 459, 963, 966, 1455, 1576, etc.; Juge. 727, 798, 1257, etc.; Poissy 117-20, 1202, etc.; C. 117, 300, 313, 514, etc.

Very exceptionally is the form *avoy* found: *Si n'avoy je chose aucune* (Duc 465).

In the plural, *-ions*, *-iez* are monosyllabic (Juge. 586; Past. 2156).

The old imperfect of *être*, *iére*, which Nyrop says "ne s'emploie guère après 1300" (II, § 162), is very frequently found in Christine. In Duc, the first person singular is found twice:

Car saouler ne m'en pouoye
Quant telz nouvelles j'ouoye
Dont je yere reconforté. — Duc 2393.

Et en grant peril, venue
Est en un lieu ou je yere. — Duc 3407.

For the third person singular, *iert*, *yert* is found 13 times (ll. 550, 691, 785, 1124, 1330, 1348, 1814, 2505, 2513, 2631, 2894, 3493, p. 206, l. 87); *ert* 5 times (ll. 110, 143, 428, 984, 2246); *iére*, *yére* 5 times (ll. 564, 1115, 1734, 1778, 2503); *ere* (l. 2544).

In Juge. 759, the third person plural is found: "dont souvent les espars de ses doulz yeulz sur elle erent espars."

The imperfect subjunctive has regularly *-ions* and *-iez* in the first and second persons plural, although, according to D. & H. (§122), *-ons* and *-ez* were the more common endings in the sixteenth century: *partissions* : *bussions* (Poissy 349); *laissions* : *vouissions* : *yssissions* : *alissions* (Poissy 256); *veissiez* (Past. 160); *pensessiez* : *vouissiez* (Duc 2786).

Past-Definite Tense

Nyrop (II, § 169, 1) says; "Le changement purement graphique de *dormi* en *dormis*, ne s'accomplit qu'après la Renaissance. Au commencement du seizième siècle on écrit: *je senti, je dormi, je parti*, tout comme *je fu, je deu*, etc." This usage of the sixteenth century is not what might be expected from the prevalence of the *s* in the first person one hundred years before. It would seem that grammarians had had in this instance some effect upon the language. *Je fus* so far prevails in Christine over *je fu* that the latter must be considered exceptional. In Duc, *je fus* is found in ll. 52, 267, 294, 544, 847, 908, 1205, 1233, 1316, 1399, 1433, 1437, 1537, 1621, 1667, etc., while in these 1667 lines, *je fu* is found once (l. 65). So also regularly *je doz* = *je dus* (Duc 941), *je dos* (Duc 2509); *je pos* (Poissy 1667); *poz* (*ibid.* 1683); *je sçoz* (Debat 437). In the past definite of *avoir*, by the side of *j'eus* (Duc 289, 305, 574, etc.), is found, and more frequently, *j'oz* (Duc 720, 1070, 1460, 1465, 2400, etc., and *j'os*, 1056, 1596, etc.). Nyrop's note, "On trouve dans quelques verbes des traces d'une analogie inverse qui écarte la voyelle *u* (*y*): *Tu oz*," seems entirely inadequate to suggest the frequency of these forms at this time, not only in the first person but in all persons: *tu os* (Vol. III, p. 16, l. 28); *ot* (Rose 180); *ommes* (Poissy 246); *eusmes* (*ibid.* 899); *ilz orent* (Ep. 326); cf. *oz* = *ose* : *oz* = *j'eus* : *loz* = *lots* : *loz* < *laus* (Alain Chartier, "Livre des quatre dames," *Œuvres*, p. 673). In other verbs besides the above, the *s* in the first person singular of the past definite is not so regularly found. Still, in strong forms the analogical *s* prevails, and in weak forms is not at all uncommon: *tins* (295, 3025); *vins* (1073); *veis* (581, 841), one *syl.* = *vis* (2571, 2676); *revins* (3474); *devins* (2677); *creus* (2275); *receus* (1069, 2386); *leus* (2389); *souffris*

(2395), all in Duc; sceus (Past. 549); saillis (Past. 991); respondis (Past. 1153).

Future and Conditional Tenses

The lengthened form of the future and conditional of verbs in *-dre* is sparingly used by Christine as compared for example with Froissart. In fact only two forms have been noted: *perderoit* (Debat 599), *perderoies* (Past. 895). Froissart in the first volume of *Méliador* uses similar forms twenty-four times.

The stem of the future and conditional of *avoir* in Christine is regularly *ar-*; *avr-* is occasionally found (*devray* : *avray*, III, p. 255, l. 27), and still more rarely *aur-* (Rose 518, I, p. 100, l. 9, III, p. 170, l. 6).

IRREGULAR VERBS

A large number of verbs, irregular in O. Fr. but regular today, are found in Christine's works in the process of transformation. Where the stem-accented form finally prevailed, it is interesting to note that it was first in the future and conditional that it displaced the ending accented form. This is what might a priori be expected, the *e* of the infinitive becoming medial and mute, and a secondary accent falling on the old infinitive stem: "*Je pleure*" (Ep. 41) and "*je pleureray*" (I, p. 15, 3 times), *pleurer* (Poissy 948), but still *plourer* (Poissy 958, 998, 1038, etc.; C. 2141), *plourant*, (I, p. 34), *plourez* (I, p. 32). In Vol. III, p. 256, is the interesting rhyme *pleureray* : *meureray* = *mourrai*. As Christine, like Chretien de Troyes before her, conjugates "love" in all its modes and tenses, it is the verb *aimer* which offers the best example of this: forms in *am-* in the future and conditional are exceptional, while I have found nowhere else *aim-* as the stem, where it does not phonetically belong. In "*Le dit de la Pastoure*" the following pertinent forms are found:

Et ne m'aimeras tu mie?—l. 414.

N'aimeroie.—l. 446.

Choisis un, se veulz *amer*

Et ne te fay pas blasmer

De ceulz qui d'amour legiere

Aymeroient toy, bergiere.

—l. 910.

- Paris promist a s'amie
 Qu'a toujours mais l'aimeroit. —l. 1397.
- De tant t'aimera il mains. —l. 1277.
- Par quoy plusieurs grans maistresses

 L'aimeront. —l. 2112.
- aimeras. —ll. 937, 1272.
- Cuideroies tu amée
 Estre de lui, fole, nyce! —l. 1283.
- Que Senone moult l'ama
 Et doulz ami le clama. —l. 1388.
- Pour poysance que g'y eusse
 M'en oster ja, tant l'amoye. —l. 1492.
- posé ore
 Que tant ne m'amast encore
 Comme un autre m'aimeroit. —l. 1498.

Naturally the transformation of these verbs was a longer process than that of the verbs in which the stem of the ending-accented forms prevailed, these being already in the large majority.

But in the verbs *prier*, *nier*, *lier*, *plier*, *priser*, the greatest confusion prevails in *Christine*, in which the modern forms seem to have already the advantage: "*Amours si fort me lie*" (Vol. I, p. 27, l. 15); "*Ce scevent ceulz qu'amours destraint et loie*" (Debat 897); *lié* (p. p. Debat 1901); *loyer*, *loier* = *lier* (Debat 1033); *lier* (Poissy 1865); *nyer* (Vol. I, p. 134); *noyer* = *nier* (Juge. 78); *prier* (Vol. I, p. 180); *proyer* (Juge. 77); *prient* (Ep. 382); *prioit* (Past. 616); *prioye* (Past. 2055); but "*puis qu'on m'en proie*" (Vol. I, p. 2, l. 23); *ploie* (pr. 3, Vol. I, p. 194); *je prise* (Vol. I, p. 23, l. 25); *proisiez* (p. 236, l. 10); *prisier* (Vol. I, p. 266, l. 21).

Of the verbs in which the stem of the ending-accented form prevails the transformation has in *Christine* taken place most completely in *parler*, only three old forms having been found by the side of the new forms: "*De tous les dieux dont Ovide parole*" (Vol. I, p. 53); "*A point tais et à point parole*" (En. Mo. 31)

and parole again, third person singular, in Pro. Mo. 83. Lève is found as well as lieve:

Royne qui des maux nous leve
Lesquelx nous empetra dame Eve.

— Vol. III, p. 4.

Trouver is conjugated regularly: je trouve (Ep. 314), but je treuve is very frequently found, as might be predicted in view of Molière's use of treuve. Nyrop cites (p. 90) truis as still found in the fourteenth century, citing "Se la voie truis," from a Miracle Play of Nostre Dame. But Christine uses it "Car ne me truis de nul bien assouvy (Vol. III, p. 251, l. 3); "et ne truis nul bon repos" (Poissy 1021); "Mais je vous truis tout changé" (III, p. 293, l. 2).

A few verbs offer forms of peculiar interest: In speaking of aller, Nyrop says: "Au XVI^e siècle, *vois* a été remplacé par *vais*" (II, §116). Christine uses *vais*: "mais je me vais emblant" (Poissy 1011; *ibid.*, l. 921; Vol. I, p. 115, l. 14; p. 172; Rondeau 46, etc.). The form *vois* is also found: "Je m'en vois" (Vol. I, p. 163). In the third person *va* is the common form (Vol. I, p. 42, l. 9; p. 160, l. 3, etc.); but *vait* is also found, and the analogical form *voit*, "et que si droit s'en voit que ne chancelle" (Vol. I, p. 14, l. 9).

Although Nyrop says that the modern forms of the present subjunctive of *dire* appear only in the sixteenth century (§139, 4), it is difficult to construe *disiez* (Duc 2141), and *dissiez* (Duc 2168), *dissiez* (Debat. 1845), for example, as anything but a present subjunctive in spite of the double *s*.

Il a tant
De pitié en vous, ma dame,
Que perdre le corps et l'ame,
Quelque chose que disiez,
Ne croy que vous laississiez
A celui qui est tout vostre.

— Duc 2138-43.

Si bien m'en entremettray
Que congneu ne sera d'omme,
Mais que vous me dissiez comme
Vous voulez qu'il se maintiegne,
Et pour vous veoir se tiengne.

— Duc 2166-70.

Quoy que dissiez, encor di et termine
 Que c'est plus grant et trop parfait signe
 De grant amour parfaite et enterine
 De soy fier
 En ses amours que de s'en defier.

—Debat 1845-49.

Dissiez as imperfect subjunctive so early as 1402 is not without interest, for though it is more commonly written deissiez, the *e* before *i* may be silent:

. . . . quant est de moy loueroie
 Que vous deissiez et volentiers l'orroie,
 Car proprement certes n'en parleroie.

—Debat 418.

Boire offers the curious form buvra:

Car ma dame la prieuse un beau mais
 Nous envoya et de son bon vin, mais
 De meilleur vin ne buvra homs jamais.

—Poissy 775.

Cf. buvrage (Poissy 1426: D. & H., § 31); abuvrées (En. Mo. 96).

The glide *v* appears exceptionally in forms of pouvoir: peuvent (Ep. 59; cf. pevent, Ep. 505); povoyes (Vol. I, p. 8, l. 5).

A past definite of venir and tenir, not recognized by grammarians, possibly an orthographic rather than a morphologic variant, is repeatedly used by Christine:

Vers le bois nous sommes traittes
 Et loings des autres retraittes
 Tant qu'a la fontaine veismes
 Et sus l'erbe nous seismes.

—Past. 978.

Cf. venimes (Poissy 699); venismes (Past. 1202).

Courir is already used by Christine as Vaugelas would have required (Nyrop II, § 77, 1):

Quant je ouï la voix courir
 Que ma belle dame amoye,
 Si engreiga plus la moye
 Doleur, etc.

—Duc 1457.

corsi = courut (Debat 679), is also noteworthy; escripre = écrire has an imperfect, escrisoit (Juge. 886; cf. Nyrop II, § 46, 1 R.).

LUCY M. GAY

GUIRAUT RIQUIER AND THE VISCOUNT OF NARBONNE

In the poem "Anc non aigui nulh temps de far chanso Mellor razo" (No. XIV of Pfaff's edition in Mahn's *Werke der Troubadours*), Guiraut Riquier, after expressing in the first stanza his joy at finding a new protector, says:

Qu'ieu ai servit de lauzor non sai quo
Tal qu'anc nom fo
Amicx de dreg en dreg,
Ni m'o promes; mas quar lo vi adreg,
Volguil servir per tal, quem fos honors
Sos guazardos, et a so leu passat.

Of whom is the poet speaking? To which one of the nobles whom Riquier up to this time had "servit de lauzor" can this veiled complaint refer? The poem is dated 1266. Of Riquier's protectors before this date we may safely leave out of account Bertran d'Opian and Bernard d'Olargues and we are then reduced to a choice between the viscount of Narbonne, the king of Aragon, and the king of Castile. In his recent interesting study of the life and work of the poet¹ M. Anglade does not find the choice difficult. He says (p. 53):

L'allusion est obscure. Il ne saurait être question du vicomte de Narbonne; nous verrons dans un moment pourquoi. Songe-t-il au roi d'Aragon qui ne lui a rien donné en échange de ses chants? Mais alors comment expliquer le vers: *Qu'ieu ai servit de lauzor non sais quo . . .*? La tenson ne contenait rien à l'éloge du roi d'Aragon, bien au contraire. Se repent-il déjà des louanges qu'il a adressées au roi de Castille l'année précédente? Cette dernière hypothèse paraît la plus probable. Le troubadour l'a servi en faisant son éloge (*de lauzor*); ce seigneur n'est pas son ami légitime, pour ainsi dire, et ne lui a pas promis de l'être. Ses belles qualités l'ont frappé; il a cru tirer quelque profit de son amitié, mais ce désir a vite passé. Riquier, heureux d'avoir trouvé un nouveau protecteur, s'excuse du mieux qu'il peut d'avoir adressé ailleurs ses flatteries; il est assez habile, dans cette obscurité voulue, pour qu'on ne puisse pas lui reprocher ses vers; il ne s'est pas compromis.

¹ Joseph Anglade *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier, étude sur la décadence de l'ancienne poésie provençale* (Bordeaux-Paris, 1905).

This decision seems to me by no means sure and final, and since the question bears upon the whole subject of the relation of the poet to the court of Narbonne it deserves a somewhat more careful consideration. The argument for the king of Castile hardly seems a strong one. It is true that in the preceding year the poet praised King Alphonse, but what was the character of his praise? In the lines quoted above, Riquier seems to be speaking of one whom he has praised for valiant deeds and worldly success. In the poem of the preceding year (1265) after long complaint of the neglect of his poetry, he says:

Lay, on es atendutz
 Sabers e car tengutz,
 M'en yrai dreytamens
 E serai ereubutz,
 Al rey, on es vertutz,
 Castellan d'onramens
 Qu'elh es lutz resplandens
 Per totz bes dir e far
 E per pretz restaurar.
 Agra ops, qu'enans fos,
 Per que a nom N Anfos.

And in the preceding stanza he uses the expression "un dels conoyssens." In this *chanson* the poet seems chiefly to have in mind the king's appreciation of poetry, and he would hardly make excuse for, or regret, praise of this sort for one whose protection of troubadours was already proverbial. Perhaps Riquier has in mind the praise bestowed on the king in his letter to the viscount's son. Yet praise thus given in a letter to young Amalric, then at the king's court, would scarcely be made the subject of special regret a year later and at the very moment of finding a new protector. Why excuse himself at all for praise bestowed but twice? And why make the allusion obscure if it referred to King Alphonse? Moreover, but two years later, possibly much less, for we have the dates only by years, in the epistle of 1268, once more to the viscount's son, Riquier repeats his praise of King Alphonse, and yet we have no evidence of any favor received nor does he express any hope of such favor. The poet's words seem to imply something

more than this—a praise more often repeated and long continued—and to contain not a mere excuse but the bitterness of deceived hope.

It is true that Riquier says “et a so leu passat,” which M. Anglade translates “mais ceci a vite passé,” making *so* the subject of a *passat*, and its antecedent the desire expressed in *volgui*. This translation naturally reduces the whole passage to a mere excuse. But there is another possible translation which seems to me the correct one. That is to make *so* the *object* of a *passat* and the unexpressed subject the person of whom the poet is speaking. The translation would then read, “But he has lightly disregarded this (praise).” For similar meanings of *passar* cf.:

Car qui so qu’el commanda
Passa, non es valens.

—Riquier (Mahn), p. 126, ll. 38, 39.

Que hom no passe res
De so qu’elha essenha.

—P. 126, ll. 42, 43.

Pero si non pot als
E passa son conven.

—P. 120, ll. 134, 135.

Cf. also Jaufre, *Appel. Ch.*, No. 3, ll. 466, 467; Peire Cardenal Bart, Ch. 191, ll. 11, 12; Elias de Barjols (ed. Strónski) II, 31.

The passage thus ceases to be a mere excuse for a single song or letter of praise for King Alphonse, and seems rather the bitterness of a long sorrow for wasted effort and neglected talent, finding natural expression at the moment when the future seems to brighten.

When M. Anglade says: “Il ne saurait être question du vicomte de Narbonne; nous verrons dans un moment pourquoi,” he appears to mean that the new protector from whom Riquier hopes so much is Guillem d’Anduze, brother of the viscount’s wife, and perhaps that the poet closes the song with the two lines:

Narbonam plai, quar porta bon’amor
E bon fe a son hourat senhor.

Rather than to see in these facts the impossibility of a reference to the viscount in the second stanza, have we not here the reason for the obscurity of that reference? To make doubly sure of

giving no offense the poet adds once more—the first time in two years—the formal mention of the viscount, an absolutely colorless expression, the most formal of all his allusions to Amalric.

If we examine the relations of Riquier with the viscount of Narbonne we shall find, I think, that the words of the song under discussion describe the relation up to this time with surprising accuracy. We are reduced for our data to the rather meager information given in the envoys of the songs and to the general tone of these songs and of the letters. It might be said in passing that, judged merely by quantity, when we remember that it covers a stretch of twelve years, the praise bestowed on the viscount can hardly be called enthusiastic. The quality of this praise is still more striking. M. Anglade has remarked upon its formal character—reduced some times to a couple of perfunctory lines—and has shown that in all probability in several instances Riquier was moved to write it by some political event. But while recognizing these facts M. Anglade seems to have assumed a closeness of relation and friendship between the viscount and the poet which goes beyond the evidence unless we read a great deal too much between the lines. To make this clear we will review rapidly the poet's mention of his lord.

The first song (1254) does not mention the viscount, but is dedicated to Bernart d'Olargue and Bertran d'Opián. In 1255 we have, as the envoy of a song complaining that Love has lost his followers and that men no longer understand and value worth, the following:

N'Amalricx, on es valors,
No vol quel tortz vas luy penda,
Que tant gent s'es mes el cors
Qu'ab cobetat ten contenda;
E fora sai pretz peritz,
Mas en elh s'es afortitz
Ab joy, per que vin houratz
Vescoms Narbones amatz.

The praise here is most general and formal, and contains nothing of personal warmth. Of the poem of 1256 M. Anglade himself says: "C'est ainsi que la troisième chanson se termine par un

éloge du vicomte Amalric aussi vague et aussi banal que le premier. . . . Il semble bien que cette fois-ci l'éloge soit une allusion à un événement réel." In 1257 Riquier is more productive and we have two *chansons* and an *alba*. The *chansons* are dedicated, one to the viscount and Bertran d'Opian, the other to the viscount alone. The praise in the latter consists of two lines:

L'onrat senhor de Narbona per ver
Pot hom lauzar a dreg, tan sap valer.

The other is more interesting:

L'onratz vescoms cuy iorns ni sers
Non tolh que valors non l'essenh
A far faitz de belh entressenh,
N'Amalriex s'es a bon pretz ders
Ab bon grat dels pus prezans,
Tant quels croys ten en balans,
Et es senhers de Narbona plazens
Per quel lauzi, pero pus es valens.

Here Riquier tells us definitely that he praises the viscount because he accomplishes glorious deeds and is "valens"—a rather striking similarity to

Mas quar lo vi adreg,
Volguil servir per tal, quem fos honors
Sos guazardos.

In 1258 the praise is equally lacking in warmth and refers evidently to some historical event.

L'onratz senhers de Narbona gazanha
Grat et amor, son verai pretz creyssen,
De sos vezis e de la gent estranha.

In 1259 we read:

Al vescomte N'Amalric de Narbona
Vir, ma chanson; quar tot vil fag azira
E manten pretz, per que valors li sobra,
Tant quels vils rix de mals pessamens carga
E manten joy e gab senes messonia
Ab grat dels pros senes tota traversa
E sap valer tant, quels estranhs taborna
Salvan s'onor, per que irals escoria.

Here we must agree with M. Anglade that the poet refers to some historical event of which we have no record. The lines cer-

tainly contain no evidence that the viscount had shown the poet any special favor. Moreover, in this year Riquier is seeking favor elsewhere. To this year belongs the letter to the viscountess of Lautrec, and one is tempted to contrast the elaborate praise of this letter with the stilted references to the viscount of Narbonne, and to see something more than idle words—a suggestion of literary conscience—in the opening lines.

Qui a sen et entendemen
E saber e conoisemen
E vol despendre sos bels ditz
Per so que sia pus grazitz,
Deu gardar de qui parlara,
Si dira ver o mentira,
Car massa lauzor es blasmars
E trop bes dirs es mal estars.
Si sel de quis ditz non es tals,
Tot lo be, c'om ditz, es mals.

Certainly Riquier cannot be accused of “trop bes dirs” of the viscount of Narbonne.

In 1260 the only reference to the viscount is:

Narbona vey enantir
El guay senhor plazentier
Cuy dieus gart de dan e d'ira.

The song of which this is the envoy shows a state of depression and unhappiness, and the pastoral of the same year expresses the same mood and finds hope of relief not in the viscount but in Bertran d'Opian.

Toza, tot m'afara
May N Bertrans m'ampara
D'Opian l'entier.

The envoy of the song of 1261 does not differ materially from the preceding ones and seems also to owe its impulse to some political event.

Vers, quant seras apres, vay
Al pro Amalric prezat,
Vescomte de Narbones,
Qu'elh a bon pretz gazanhat
El mante entier ses notz,
Don tug sey amic son leth
Els autres ab cossirier.

The *descort* of the same year complains of Beïh Deport and says,

E servirai lieys el don d'Opian.

The pastoral of 1262 mentions no protector and the song dated in one MS 1262, in the other 1260, speaks of the viscount in the usual conventional fashion:

Senh'En vescoms N'Amalricx, mantenensa
Donatz a pretz, per queus te noblamens
De Narbona senhor e de las gens
Ab grat del mielhs del mon et ab temensa.

In 1263 we have a song to the Virgin, a *serena*, and a song dedicated to the viscount. The first two give us no information and the mention of the viscount in the last has the colorless character as to personal warmth of those of preceding years but is interesting as containing a warning note:

L'onrat senhor de Narbona
N'Amalric, que pretz mante
Prec, quel guar si, quos cove,
E viura plazens, lials
Estranhatz de totz ditz mals.

"Il y a là," says M. Anglade, "un conseil qui semble bien faire allusion à un événement de l'histoire Narbonnaise." Just what this event was we need not discuss; the fact to note is that the reference to the viscount has its inspiration once more in some historical happening not in any generosity on the part of the viscount toward the poet. It should also be emphasized that, with the exception of the song under discussion (1266), this is the last mention of the viscount until the letter "Sim fos saber grazitz" of 1269, where the poet becomes reconciled with someone whose name he does not mention but who would seem to be the viscount. The poem of 1263 with its warning against "tutz ditz mals" should, it seems to me, be considered in relation with the letter, and the causes of the estrangement mentioned in this letter should be sought, not necessarily in the year when the letter was written, but possibly as far back as 1263.

In 1264 Riquier wrote only the third pastoral—at least nothing else is preserved to us from that year—a silence that may be considered as significant of no warm affection for the viscount and as

indicating that during that year the poet was the recipient of no favors. M. Anglade explains this silence by supposing the poet absent from Narbonne—an unnecessary supposition. Why not assume that the silence is due to strained relations with the viscount? M. Anglade himself suggests reasons for believing this when he says: "Quoiqu'il en soit, il semble qu'il y ait eu des raisons particulières qui aient contribué à lui rendre son séjour à Narbonne peu agréable. La onzième chanson (1265) est une longue plainte dirigée d'abord contre l'amour, puis remplie d'allusions obscures et terminée par un cri d'espoir." The allusions are obscure as far as their particular reference is concerned, but the general import is clear. The poet is angered that his poetry is not appreciated while insignificant poets receive recognition:

Er serai mal volgutz,
Blasmatz e vil tengutz
Per peex, qu'om fa sabens;
Don belhs vers es vencutz
E vils mentirs cregutz.
Pero non suy temens;
Quar us dels conoyssens
Me pot mais yssaussar
Que cent pec abaissar;
E quar ma sospeyssos
Es en luec tan joyos.

He then tells us that he shall go to King Alphonse and that it is he who shall understand and appreciate him:

Nom pot esser guirens
Totz l'autre mons, som par,
Ni m'en cal laguiar,
Sil reys, cuy es leos,
Nom restaura ioys.

The mood expressed in this song makes it unnecessary to assume an absence from Narbonne to explain Riquier's silence in the preceding year. He has come to realize the truth,

Qu'ieu servit de lauzor non sai quo
Tal qu'anc nom fo
Amics de dreg en dreg.

To this same year belongs the letter to the viscount's son, asking him to recommend the poet to the king of Castile at whose court

the young man was then stopping, and possibly also the *tenson* with Guilhem de Mur seeking favor with the king of Aragon. We have nowhere any mention of the viscount unless it be the veiled and derogatory allusions in the song mentioned above.

We now come to the year (1266) of the poem which raises the question with which we opened this discussion, the year, too, in which Riquier writes to his friend Rofian a letter full of genuine grief and containing the words,

Car soi tot sol sai,
E prec vos que, sieus plai,
Me detz calque cofort
Per letras.

Here we may quote the words of M. Anglade (p. 37): "Nous connaissons maintenant les thèmes que Riquier développe dans ses envois: la force et la vaillance du vicomte, son amour des belles actions et la protection qu'il accorde au talent." The last phrase, however, we should feel constrained to omit. Where does Riquier tell us that the viscount gives protection to talent? The whole tone of his poetry during this period contradicts the statement. In brief the matter seems to me to lie thus: Riquier is a citizen of Narbonne, perhaps bound to his native city by ties of which we know nothing and which make him reluctant to seek his fortune elsewhere and at a distance. As a citizen of Narbonne he owes his fealty to the viscount, who is loved and respected by his subjects. In 1255 Riquier begins to praise him for his power and valiant deeds, especially when some event which pleases his subjects gives the poet a particular impulse. He sings his love for the viscountess (if Belh Deport really was the viscountess¹) and continues his formal praise of the viscount until 1264, ever hoping for that favor which was given to troubadours at the court of Narbonne in former times, and which Riquier knew as given still at the court of Castile. When opportunity offers he seeks connection elsewhere but seems ever reluctant to leave Narbonne. In 1264 he ceases his praise. Neither Belh Deport nor the viscount has ever shown him any particular generosity. He is discouraged and bitter, yet policy, so long as he must continue

¹ Cf. Savj-Lopes, "L' ultimo trovatore," *Trovatori e Poeti*, 1906.

to live at Narbonne, forbids any but the vaguest expression of his feeling. In 1266 a new opportunity presents itself. He believes that he has a new protector, that he is at last to leave Narbonne and while voicing his joy he cannot forget his long despised praise of another and the failure of his dearest hopes, and he gives his grief expression. But his new protector is the brother of the viscountess; he must be cautious; his allusion is therefore vague and to increase his security he adds two lines of the coldest and most formal praise of the viscount. Riquier's relations with the court of Narbonne were never, in our opinion, close enough to justify the expression "poète salarié."

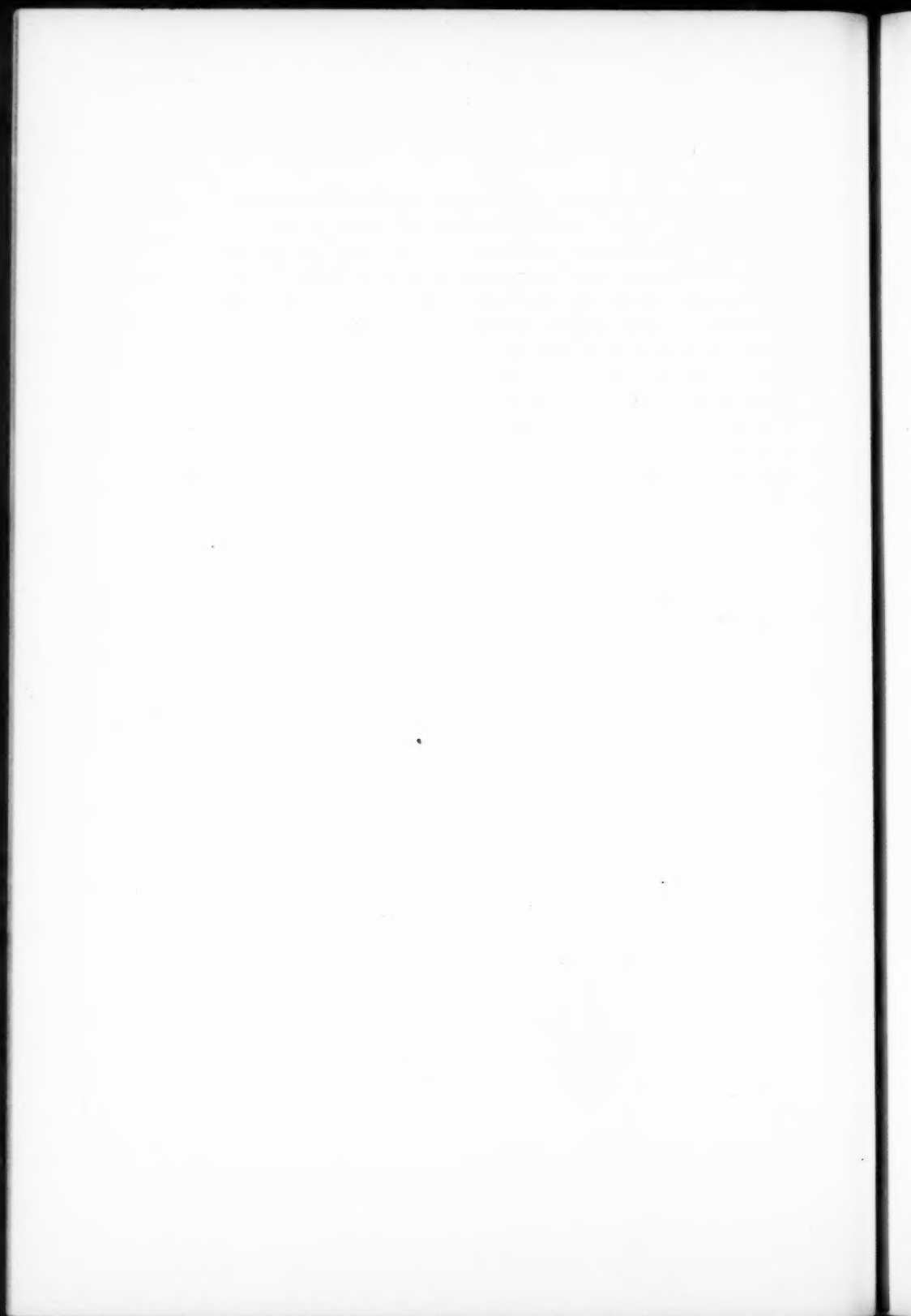
In the later work of the poet there seems to be nothing that would compel a modification of this view of the case. The viscount of Narbonne died in December, 1270. Between 1266 and this date when Riquier wrote a *planh* in his honor, we have no direct and certain mention of him. It is true that earlier in the year 1270 we have the letter to "N Amalric de Narbonne a Tunis," which M. Anglade seems convinced was written to the father and not to the son. The ground for this certainty I do not quite see. The tone of the letter is such as would be more appropriate if it were addressed to the younger man; it is similar in tone to the other letters written to the young Amalric. To assume the father as the object involves us in a historical difficulty in that the father's name is not among the names of those who took part in the crusade and there is strong proof that he was in Narbonne but a short time after the date when the letter was written. To meet this difficulty M. Anglade is forced to assume that the viscount started on the crusade but for some unknown reason did not sail with the others and returned to Narbonne. Since there is nothing in the letter that might not apply to the young Amalric it seems simpler to assume that the letter was written to him.

In the letter of the preceding year (1269) Riquier, after discussion of the different kinds of *vergonha*, in a rather long digression makes an application of his doctrine to the case of some friend from whom he has been estranged and who has asked him to show him his fault. No names are mentioned, and, while his description seems to fit the viscount better than anyone else of

whom we know, it is by no means certain that he is the friend in question. We may, however, grant that this friend is the viscount, and that the letter written after this reconciliation was addressed to him rather than to his son without prejudice to our main contention, that the relation of Riquier to the viscount of Narbonne was rather that of the loyal subject than of the "poète salarié," that for a considerable stretch of years this relation was strained, and that the words of the song of 1266 are meant to apply to the viscount. The *planh* of 1270, when we consider the conventional character of this form of poetry, can hardly be offered in objection. The poet might have written such a conventional song of mourning for one with whom he had had but incidental relation.

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SOME PARALLELS TO *BARTHOLOMEW FAIR*

The opinion seems generally current that Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* is entirely original.¹ I think, however, it can be shown that for his plot Jonson took suggestions from at least one other play, and that he made free use of the literature of roguery. The comic retribution that overtakes Waspe after he has ridiculed Bartholomew Cokes for the loss of two purses was more than probably suggested by the old play of *Sir Thomas More*, and Jonson apparently drew from the same source for his treatment of the cutpurse scenes. Moreover, many of the jest books, lives of rogues, pamphlets on coney-catching, and miscellaneous tracts of Jonson's day illustrate *Bartholomew Fair* and often furnish rather close parallels, so that there is little doubt that Jonson, though the stage-keeper's charge that he did not "hit the humours" of the fair² is hardly just, owed as much to his vast reading in every field as to his own invention or to his knowledge of the fair. It is only in this play of *Sir Thomas More*, however, that I have found a main motive and situation of *Bartholomew Fair* combined with many of its details.

The fact that *Sir Thomas More* was not published till 1844 gives rise to the question whether Jonson knew the play. *Bartholomew Fair* itself furnishes the best evidence that he did. There is also probably a hint of *Sir Thomas More* in *The Silent Woman* when Morose, seeing Mrs. Otter beating Otter, exclaims:

Mistress Mary Ambree, your examples are dangerous. Rogues, hell-hounds, Stentors! out of my doors, you sons of noise and tumult, begot on an ill May-day.³

Gifford takes this to refer to the London riots of May-day, 1517, which are celebrated in the play of *Sir Thomas More* and in a

¹ Cf. Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 370, and Koepfel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen B. J.*, etc., p. 14.

² B. F. Induction, *Jonson's Works*, Vol. II, p. 143. References to Jonson's works are to the Gifford-Cunningham three-volume edition (London, 1904). *Bartholomew Fair* is in the second volume, pp. 141-210. References to *Sir Thomas More* are by page to Dyce's edition for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1844).

³ *Sil. Wom.*, IV, 1, *Works*, I, 438.

ballad, "The Story of Ill May-Day." If, as is probable, Morose's expression, "ill May-day," involves not merely a hostile attitude to May-day but a reference to the London riots, Jonson doubtless had in mind the play and not the ballad or historical accounts; for one of the leaders of the May-day riots, appearing in the play and not elsewhere, is Doll Williamson, a fighting woman of the same type as Mary Ambree. For the fictitious Doll, Jonson might not unnaturally have substituted a name well known to his hearers and celebrated elsewhere in his work. Negatively, the date of *Sir Thomas More* was not so early nor its probable popularity so slight as to be evidence against Jonson's knowledge of the play. From internal evidence conclusions have been drawn placing the date of the play around 1590 or as late as 1595 in parts.¹ The cutpurse scenes, which evidently belong to the older part of the play, are based on the incident given, apparently for the first time, in the earliest published life of More, that of Stapleton's *Tres Thomae*, 1588. Moreover, parts of the play belong to so advanced a stage in the development of the drama that some good critics have judged them to be the work of Shakespeare.² Furthermore, the revision, the occurrence of an actor's name in the manuscript,³ and the elaborate changes made by Tyllney, Master of the Revels (1579-1610), for performance, emphasize the connection of the play with the stage.

The part of *Sir Thomas More* that has the elements of Jonson's cutpurse scenes is the second scene according to Dyce's edition, a short one covering pp. 6-13. *Bartholomew Fair* offers a parallel to nearly every detail, and, while some of the parallels

¹ Dyce, *Sir Th. M.*, Preface; Simpson, *4 N. and Q.*, VIII, 1 ff.; Fleay, *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, p. 312, and *Life and Work of Sh.*, pp. 27, 127, 292, 293; Schelling, *Eng. Chron. Play*, p. 211. The determination of the date of *Sir Thomas More* would possibly have some bearing on the source of the mob scenes in *The First Part of the Contention*, in *2 Henry VI*, and in *Julius Caesar*. The attitude of the mob at first in *Sir Thomas More*, the indication of veering in the midst of More's arguments, the complete turn of the mob at the end, the genuine oratorical tone of More's speech, the sharp contrast between this and the talk of the leaders of the mob, and many details in language are similar to *Julius Caesar* especially. (See Simpson's article and compare *Sir Th. M.*, p. 29, ll. 6, 7, and *Jul. Caes.*, III, 1, ll. 271-74, etc.)

² Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, II, pp. 214, 215; Simpson, *4 N. and Q.*, VIII, pp. 1 ff.; Spedding, *4 N. and Q.*, X, pp. 227 f.

³ *Sir Th. M.*, p. 53, n. 1. The same name occurs in the plot of Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins* (Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry and Stage* [1879], III, pp. 198 ff.); see Fleay, *Life and Work of Sh.*, pp. 23, 264-66, 296. Cf. *Sir Th. M.*, p. 59, n. 3, for another name preserved in the play.

are very slight or commonplace, I have mentioned them all, giving the passages that are most closely akin.

1. The scene in *Sir Thomas More* opens with a censure not of the cutpurse but of his victim. Sir Thomas More, the Lord Mayor, Suresbie, and other justices are trying the case of Lifter for cutting the purse of Smart. Suresbie, obtaining leave to speak, delivers a severe lecture to Smart. This situation occurs twice in *Bartholomew Fair*. When Cokes loses his first purse, Waspe cries out:

Are you not justly served, in your conscience now, speak in your conscience?¹

and at the loss of the second purse, Waspe turns upon Cokes with a still severer censure:

You are an ass, sir, . . . they are such retchless flies as you are, that blow cut-purses abroad in every corner; your foolish having of money makes them.²

"Justly served" of Waspe's first attack may be compared with the only phrase preserved in an imperfect line at the end of Suresbie's speech, "rightlie sern'de." The wording of the second attack is similar to that in the preceding part of Suresbie's censure:

. . . Thou art a foolish fellowe.

What makes so many pilferers and fellows,
But such fond baites that foolish people lay
To tempt the needie miserable wretche?³

2. In the plan that is laid in both plays to bring the censure home to the censurer, the same details come out.

After Suresbie's rebuke of Smart, More, obtaining his whispered request from the Lord Mayor, sends out all but Lifter, whose life he then offers to save on the condition that he repeat his performance by cutting Suresbie's purse. More overcomes Lifter's distrust and fear of the consequences by revealing a secret knowledge of some of Lifter's past crimes, and thus makes his life doubly the reward of success in the jest. Lifter consents, boasting of his ability to accomplish the robbery, and he is com-

¹ *B. F.*, II, 1, *Works*, II, 169.

² *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 179.

³ *Sir Th. M.*, pp. 6, 7.

manded to bring the purse to More. In *Bartholomew Fair*, as Waspe and Cokes leave the scene of the second robbery, Quarlous, who is left with the cutpurse Edgworth as More was with Lifter, calls Edgworth and imposes upon him the task of robbing Waspe of a box taken from Cokes for safekeeping. Quarlous has seen Edgworth rob Cokes of his purse and uses the knowledge to make him consent, promising as a reward for his success not to betray him. Edgworth, boasting of his skill, offers to bring only the contents of the box and is told to do so.

3. In the downfall of the overconfident man, who seeks his troubles and runs into the toils, there is also a likeness in the two plays.

To Suresbie, who is sent in by More after Lifter has consented to cut his purse, Lifter makes a declaration of his own innocence, and then he proceeds to tell of the tricks of more skilful cutpurses than himself. One statement of his ought to put Suresbie on guard, but he is so bent on knowing the tricks of cutpurses in order to catch the rogues that he is blind to the situation. He longs to know the tricks of the trade, and in an aside Lifter promises him his desire. Through this self-confidence and eagerness to match the cutpurses, he permits Lifter to draw him on, and runs into the toils, losing his purse even while he is boasting of his ability to keep it. This incident is worked into the robbery of both Waspe and Cokes, but it is more fully elaborated in the case of Cokes, appearing in all of its details. There Nightingale, coming in to rob Cokes a second time,¹ tells Cokes that he sings his "Caveat against Cut-purses" that he may be held guiltless if a purse is cut in his presence. This suggests Lifter's declaration of innocence as a prelude to a well-planned robbery. When Nightingale sings his song, telling, as Lifter tells Suresbie, of the deeds of the cutpurses and of their boldness, Cokes like Suresbie is deceived and led on, rather than warned. Then comes the desire of Cokes, which is ironically fulfilled, to pit himself against the cutpurses.

A comparison of language shows to what extent the "humours" of the characters correspond. Suresbie's eagerness comes out in

¹ *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 176.

his questions about the cutpurses, which follow Lifter's description of their tricks:

Tell me what are they? where they may be caught?
I, those are they I looke for.

Then Lifter promises:

And you shall haue your longing ere ye goe.¹

Suresbie's remark just before he discovers that he has already been robbed is:

But let them gull me, widgen me, rooke me, foppe me,
Yfaith, yfaith, they are too short for me.
Knaues and fooles meete when purses goe;
Wise men looke to their purses well enough.²

So Cokes calls for the cutpurses again and again until he gets his desire. After the loss of his first purse, he shows another and says:

Let him catch this that catch can. I would fain see him get this,
look you here.

I will put it just where the other was, and if we have good luck, you shall see a delicate fine trap to catch the cut-purse nibbling.

Edgworth overhears and promises as Lifter did:

Faith, and he'll try ere you be out o' the Fair.³

Nightingale's song recalls Cokes to his desire and makes it only the more insistent. He prays Nightingale to raise him one or two. As Nightingale sings, "Look to your purses," Cokes cries, "Ha, ha, this chimes! Good counsel at first dash;" and when Nightingale comes to "beware of the cut-purse so bold," Cokes echoes his previous remark, "Well said! he were to blame that would not, i' faith." Holding his hand on his purse, Cokes reiterates his desire, and at last breaks out:

A pox on them, that they will not come! that a man should have such
a desire to a thing, and want it!

Especially in view of the fact that the audience knows of the cut-purse's determination to gull the boaster, Jonson's prolonged preparation for the climax must have made this part of *Bartholomew Fair* much more entertaining than the original, where the dare of

¹ *Sir Th. M.*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *B. F.*, II, 1, *Works*, II, 169, 170.

the cocksure justice, the acceptance by the cutpurse, and the downfall follow each other too rapidly for the tension of expectancy to reach its keenest point. A remark of Quarlous, much in the spirit of Lifter's and Edgworth's promises, indicates the eagerness that the scene in *Bartholomew Fair* produces with the spectators, and prepares for the success of the cutpurse and for his acceptance as a comic hero. "'Fore God," Quarlous declares, "I'd give half the Fair, an 'twere mine, for a cut-purse for him, to save his long-ing." Then Cokes, flourishing his purse once more and putting it up, exclaims ironically, "I am an ass, I cannot keep my purse!" and is robbed the next moment,¹ as Suresbie was robbed at the climax of his self-confidence. In working up the robbery of Waspe, Jonson has used only the same motive, omitting many details and changing others. The same humor, however, that Suresbie shows when he declares that only fools lose purses, leads Waspe to say, as he takes the box away from Cokes after Cokes's second loss:²

But give me this from you in the meantime; I beseech you, see if I can look to this,
and immediately after,

Why! because you are an ass.³

4. In the two plays the discovery of the loss is made in the same way.

Suresbie finds his purse missing when, in response to a suggestion of More's, he is about to make a contribution to the funeral

¹ *B. F.*, II, 1, *Works*, 176, 178.

² In the "Merry Frolicks or the Comical Cheats of Swalpo," etc. (Ashton, *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 337 ff.) there is an account of a pickpocket who, performing set tasks, picks a nobleman's pocket of a watch carefully guarded, by tickling him under the ear, as Cokes is robbed in *Bartholomew Fair* the second time. The preceding task of Swalpo had been to steal the coat off the nobleman's back. Compare Cokes's loss of his coat in the third robbery. In another work, also published after Jonson's play, *Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of fancies*, etc., 1641 (reprinted in Ashbee's *Fac-simile Reprints*, No. 1, and in Hindley's *Old Book Coll. Misc.*, Vol. III) we have an exact description of this third robbery of Cokes. The passage reads: "Some of your cutpurses are in fee with cheating costermongers, who have a trick now and then to throw downe a basket of refuge peares, which prove cloake-peares to those that shall loose their hats or cloaks in striving who shall gather fastest" (p. 4). Besides, there is in the same pamphlet an account of a Puritan who attacks the pictures of Christ and his disciples and is put in the stocks, and a fairly exact copy of Ursula and Mooncalf: "In the pig-market, alias Pasty-nooke or Pye corner, . . . pigges are al houres of the day on the stalls piping hot . . . the fat greasy H[o]stesse instructs Nick Froth her tapster, to aske a shilling more for a pigs head of a woman big with child, in regard of her longing," etc. (p. 5).

³ *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 179.

expenses of the condemned prisoners, including Lifter, who has robbed him. Cokes, too, discovers his loss upon the moment of paying the money for the ballads to Nightingale, who has helped rob him. Each cries out with the same surprise, "My purse is gone." When Lifter is questioned by Suresbie, he says,

Suspect ye me, sir? Oh, what a world is this!

And More, continuing the jest, says:

But that the poore man is a prisoner,
It would be now suspected that he had it.¹

So Nightingale seems inclined to play upon the victim when he says to Cokes, who has just discovered his second loss, "I hope you suspect not me, sir?" Edgworth adds, much in the vein of More but with the intention of hurrying Nightingale away with the purse, which has been turned over to him:

Thee! that were a jest indeed! dost thou think the gentleman is foolish? where hadst thou hands, I pray thee? Away, ass, away!²

5. In the moral that is brought home to the censurer the plays agree.

When Suresbie discovers the loss of his purse, More censures him in exactly the same words that he himself had used in condemning Smart for tempting the cutpurses, and the Lord Mayor adds:

Beleeue me, Master Suresbie, this is straunge,
You, beeing a man so settled in assuraunce,
Will fall in that which you condemnd in other.³

¹ *Sir Th. M.*, p. 12.

² *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 179; *Mery Tales and Quicke Answers* (ed. Hazlitt), No. XCV, "Of him that desired to be set vpon the pillori," gives a close parallel to this. A cutpurse asks of a bailiff the privilege of being the first put in a new pillory. After his two companions are leaving with a rich harvest reaped from the crowd that gathers, he asks to be released. "The baylie sayde to hym: by my faythe, thou arte a good felowe . . . holde I wyll gyue the a grote to drynke, and so putte his hande in the hole of his apron. But there he founde neuer a peny. Cokes armes! (quod the baylye) my pourse is pycked, and my moneye is gone. Syr (quod the felowe), I truste ye wyll beare me recorde, that I haue hit nat. No, by the masse, quod he, thou were on the pyllorie the whyle. Than, no force, quod the felow, and wente his waye." The same tale comes in *Pasquil's Jests* (Hazlitt, pp. 19-21) with practically the same wording except that one speech reads: "I hope (quoth the fellow) you do not think that I haue it." The comic motive of reaching for a lost purse to get money for one of the robbers, who is able to declare his own innocence boldly, occurs in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I, V, 5.

³ *Sir Th. M.*, pp. 12, 13.

Jonson makes Waspe pass this same condemnation upon himself on his return to Cokes after his release from the stocks: "He that will correct another must want fault in himself."¹ The discovery immediately after of his own loss at the hands of the cutpurses puts Waspe for once completely "out of his humour" of censure. It is in the case of Overdo, however, the officious and overweening justice of *Bartholomew Fair*, that we find the use of a man's own words to condemn him. Mrs. Overdo says of him when he is stopped in his disguise and suspected at the second robbery of Cokes,

I see he is a lewd and pernicious enormity, as Master Overdo calls him.

Overdo says in an aside,

Mine own words turned upon me like swords.²

6. In the third stanza of the ballad which Nightingale sings in *Bartholomew Fair* there is almost certainly a reference to the unusual purse-cutting incident dramatized in *Sir Thomas More*.³

Nay, once from the seat
Of judgment so great,

A judge there did lose a fair pouch of velvete.⁴

Of his four references in the ballad to specific cases of purse-cutting, Jonson throws this one back into the realm of story or chronicle by his "once," and then gives place and circumstance for the other three. Moreover, this anecdote of More had a very wide circulation under his name.⁵ In spite of Stapleton's known care in getting first-hand information,⁶ its authenticity may be questioned, for Roper does not give it, and there was a strong

¹ *B. F.*, V, 3, *Works*, II, 201.

² *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 179.

³ Besides the incident of *Sir Thomas More*, the only Elizabethan parallel that I know to these instances of purse-cutting in law courts given by Jonson is found in Dekker's *Tests to Make You Merrie* (1607), where the story is told of an honest juror who had his pocket picked by a cutpurse whose acquittal he had just secured (Dekker, *Non-Dram. Works*, ed. Grosart, II, p. 311).

⁴ *B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 177.

⁵ It is given in Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* (1588); the life of More by B. R. (1599) in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, Vol. II; the *Life* by Cresacre More in Jonson's lifetime; Hoddesdon's *Life* (1652); Winstanley's *England's Worthies* (1690); *Witty Apothegms delivered at Several Times and upon Several Occasions by King James, King Charles, the Marquess of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moor* (1669); quoted in Ashton's *Humour, Wit, and Satire of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 141.

⁶ Bridgett, *Life and Works of Sir Thomas More*, pp. ix, x.

tendency in the sixteenth century, and even later, to create a cycle of jests around the name of More;¹ but whatever its source, it seems to have been regarded about the time *Sir Thomas More* was written and throughout Jonson's life as an authentic anecdote of More and not to have been connected with the name of any other.

The free borrowing of songs in Elizabethan dramas and the circulation of this ballad anonymously² later may throw doubt on Jonson's authorship of it. Nightingale, however, declares that the ballad is "a spell . . . spick and span new," and this is verified by the allusion in the fourth stanza:

Nay, one without grace.

At a [far] better place

At court, and in Christmas, before the king's face.

We have here the story of Selman, who cut a purse in the King's Chapel at Whitehall on Christmas day, 1611, and was executed within two weeks. On the day of the execution Archer entered at the Stationers' his account of Selman,³ and this was published soon after with the title: *The Araigment of John Selman, who was executed neere Charing-Crosse the 7. of January, 1612, for a felony by him committed in the King's Chappell at White-Hall upon Christmas day last, in presence of the King and divers of the nobility*; London, 1612. According to the account of Selman's trial, Sir Francis Bacon in condemning the prisoner said: ". . .

¹Chaps. xii and xiii of Stapleton's *Tres Thomae*, are filled with apothegms and anecdotes. Pp. 98-108 of B. R.'s *Life in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.*, Vol. II, are a veritable jest-book, and of the stories there given at least two occur in jest-books, that of More's treatment of a man who advertised for a lost purse in *Mery Tales and Quicke Answers*, XV (ed. Hazlitt), and that of choosing the smallest woman as the smallest evil (also in Stapleton, chap. xiii) in *A C Mery Tallys*, LXIII (ed. Oesterley). All the early lives repeat some anecdotes besides that of the cutpurse which are of doubtful authenticity. Moreover, there are scattering references to More in jest-books, as to More's servants in *XII Mery Jestes of the Wyddow Edyth*. Cf. also Bridgett's *Life* (p. 38, n.) for such a version of the "Erasmus and diabolus" anecdote, given also by Cresacre More. Cf. Collier, *Bibl. Acct. Eng. Lang.*, Vol. I, p. 404, and Vol. II, p. 124, for other examples, given here, however, without references. See *Witty Apothegms* mentioned just above.

²Collier publishes it, giving no author, with five additional stanzas in *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads* (1847), pp. 271 ff., under the title that Jonson gives, "A Caveat for Cut-purses. To the Tune of Packington's Pound." Alden, *Bartholomew Fair*, *Yale Studies in Eng.*, XXV, pp. 192, 193, shows that the addition was made after the production of *Barth. Fair*. The anonymous "Caveat for Cut-purses" in the Roxburghe Collection of the British Museum must be the original of Collier's version. Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, mentions a "Caveat for Cut-purses" which he does not seem to connect with Jonson, but which is perhaps the same Roxburghe version.

³Arber's *Transcript*, III, p. 474.

I cannot choose but place this in the third rank [of sins] . . . all . . . being considered the time, the place, and person there present," etc.¹ In the same year Rowlands wrote two short epigrams² on Selman's death, which are almost made up of phrases from the title and matter of *The Araignment*. It is noticeable that Jonson stresses the same points of Selman's enormity that are stressed by Bacon, by Rowlands, and in the title of *The Araignment*.³ Thus not only does the recentness of Selman's deed celebrated in the ballad indicate that the ballad was written by Jonson for the play, but the exactness of the reference would indicate a like exactness for the allusion to the "seat of judgment," and render it more probable that we have here a reference to the anecdote of *Sir Thomas More*.

A further parallel between the two plays, from which, however, little can be inferred as to the indebtedness of Jonson, is found in the introduction into each, with many corresponding circumstances, of a play within a play. The puppet-show⁴ in *Bartholomew Fair*, Cokes's large license of comment upon it, Busy's entering upon the scene and turning the performance to a debate with the puppets, and the closing of the puppet-show without completion may be compared with the introduction of the play⁵ in *Sir Thomas More*, More's comments upon the play, his taking a part in it and improvising, and the dismissal of the players before the play has been completed. The puppet-show in *Bartholomew Fair* and the morality in *Sir Thomas More* both furnish in tone and spirit a comic contrast, like a sort of anti-masque, to the plays into which they are introduced. Like the

¹ Chambers, *Book of Days*, II, p. 670. Pp. 669, 670, are given to an account of Selman, in which Bacon's speech is quoted, at least in part (with variations from Brydges, *Brit. Bibl.*, I, pp. 537, 538), and the reference in Jonson's ballad is pointed out. There are notices of *The Araignment* in Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 402; in Granger's *Biog. Hist. of Eng.*, II, p. 209; and in Caulfield's *Rem. Pers. from Reign of Edw. III to the Revolution*, I, p. 71. Brotanek discovered a reference to the incident in a letter of Chamberlain for December 31, 1611 (*Die engl. Maskenspiele*, pp. 347, 348, and *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1611-18, p. 104).

² *The Knave of Harts* (1612), p. 46 (*Works of Rowlands*, Hunterian Club, Vol. II).

³ There is no doubt a reference to the same incident in Jonson's masque of *Love Restored*. Robin Goodfellow, in the course of a long speech, says (*Works*, III, 85): "One of the black-guard . . . was groping of me as nimbly as the Christmas cut-purse." See Fleay, *Hist. of Stage*, p. 182; *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, pp. 7-9; Brotanek, *Die engl. Maskenspiele*, pp. 346-48. Brotanek rejoices over his discovery of Chamberlain's reference to the cut-purse. He was not so fortunate as to read Chambers.

⁴ *B. F.*, V, 3.

⁵ *Sir Th. M.*, pp. 55-66.

list of plays offered by the players in *Sir Thomas More* is the list of puppet-shows which Lanthorn Leatherhead says that he has produced in his day.¹

Again, the request of the stage-keeper in the induction of *Bartholomew Fair* at the opening of the play—

Gentlemen, have a little patience, they are e'en upon coming instantly. He that should begin the play, Master Littlewit, the proctor, has a stitch new fallen in his black silk stocking; 'twill be drawn up ere you can tell twenty—

may have been suggested by the request of "Inclination the Vise" made just as the players are about to present *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome* before Sir Thomas More and his guests:

We would desire your honor but to stay a little; one of my fellowes is but run to Oagles for a long beard for young Witt, and heele be heere presently.

In each play the remark is preliminary to some jesting about the play that follows. In *Bartholomew Fair* the remark also prepares for some satire and renders it dramatically possible for Jonson to introduce some discussion of the material of comedy; in *Sir Thomas More* the playwright is enabled to present More as an improviser and to break off the inserted play before it becomes too tedious.²

It is worthy of note that the spirit in which Jonson deals with his characters in general, as in the case of Waspe and Justice Overdo, is found in a less bitter form in the play of *Sir Thomas More* when More overthrows Justice Suresbie. It is also found in More's treatment of Faulkner.³ Faulkner, a servant and ruffian, almost as perverse, impudent, and irascible as Waspe, who wears his hair long and has made a vow to cut it only "when the humors are purgd, not theis three years," and who cares not for consequences, "so it bee in my humor, or the Fates becon to mee,"

¹ *B. F.*, V, 1.

² In the *Masque of Christmas*, produced about two years after *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson has Carol cry out at the moment when Christmas is about to introduce his children in their appearance before the King, "Why, here be half of the properties forgotten, father" (*Works*, III, p. 107), and then just as in *Sir Thomas More* there is some merriment produced by the discussion of the situation and by the provision made for the emergency.

³ *Sir Th. M.*, pp. 42-46, 50-53.

is brought before More for rioting. More, by sending him to prison till he shall cut his hair, purges him of that humor.¹

The source from which the author of *Sir Thomas More* drew the material for the pocket-picking scene must be considered in its relation to *Bartholomew Fair* before it can be safely inferred that Jonson was indebted to the play. This source was of course the famous anecdote given by most of More's biographers in almost the same words. In Cresacre More's *Life* there is essentially this account.²

More, having heard "one of the ancient Iustices" chide the losers of purses, "saying that their negligence was cause, that there were so manie Cutt purses brought thither . . . sent for one of the chiefe Cutt purses that was in the prison" the night after and promised to "stand his good friend, if he would cutt that Iustice's purse, whilst he sate the next day on the Benche." The thief the next day, asking to speak in private to one of the bench to excuse himself, whispered in the judge's ear and cut his purse. More, upon a signal from the thief, moved the bench to give alms to a "needie fellowe" there.

When the olde man came to open his purse, he sees it cutt away, and wondering, sayd, that he had it, when he came to sit there that morning. Sir Thomas replyed in a pleasant manner; what? will you charge anie of us with fellonie? He beginning to be angrie and ashamed of the matter, Sir Thomas calles the cutt purse and willes him to giue him his purse againe, counselling the good man hereafter not to be so bitter a censurer of innocent mens negligence, when as himself could not keepe his purse safe in that open assemblie.³

The general outline of Jonson's plot might as readily have been suggested by the *Life* as by the play of *Sir Thomas More*. Even the ground on which Suresbie and Waspe condemn the

¹ With the scene in *Ev. M. out of His H.* (V, 2), where Macilente causes Saviolina to declare that she can detect the gentleman beneath the clownish action of the genuine clown, Sogliardo, and thus brings her to shame, may be compared, for similarity of test and contrast in result, the scenes in *Sir Thomas More* (pp. 41, 42, 46-48) where More dresses himself as his servant and his servant as himself to test the ability of Erasmus to discern the real gentleman and scholar from the clown.

² I use Cresacre More's version, because it is most accessible, and, being in English, is readily compared with the plays. It seems to be a free translation of the anecdote as given by Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, chap. xiii, and, like the other versions, differs from *Tres Thomae* in none of the important details.

³ Cresacre More, *The Life of Sir Thomas More* (1726), pp. 86-88; Dyce's edition of *Sir Thomas More*, p. 13, n. 1.

losers of purses—their negligence as the cause of cutpurses—and the moral that is brought home to Suresbie and Waspe, are here. On the other hand, the whole spirit of Jonson's treatment is found in the play and is missing in the *Life*, and the most important parallel between the two plays, the "humour" of the overconfident man and boaster who seeks his trouble, is wanting in the *Life*. Besides, the resemblance of language is closer in the case of *Bartholomew Fair* and the play *Sir Thomas More* than in that of *Bartholomew Fair* and the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, and there are many minor details found in both plays and not in the *Life*. Evidently Jonson took the play to build upon.

As regards the similarity between *Sir Thomas More* and *Bartholomew Fair*, it should be remarked, however, that many of these parallelisms in motive reach back to the motive very common in folk and rogue tales—the ability of the shrewd thief to perform any robbery, no matter how great the odds against him. In these stories, especially the pure thief stories, there are usually several common motives. The thief must repeat the performance of a robbery, often of the same person and usually more than once, the difficulty increasing with each feat; his life is at stake for his past deeds; a great reward, usually life, is promised in case of success; the thief has confidence in his power and a roguish zest in the performance of his task; the man to be robbed is watching and equally confident; and the thief always succeeds, to the amazement of his victim. The presence of these elements in the two plays is clear. Indeed, *Bartholomew Fair* comes very near in many details to the "Master Thief" branch, one of the earliest and best versions of which is an Elizabethan tale, No. XIII of the *Merie Tales of Skelton*. We have in *Bartholomew Fair* the repeated robberies, though only one is a set task. Moreover, the thefts of the hat, coat, and sword that Cokes is wearing, and of the license from Waspe's box without the box and without Waspe's knowledge of the theft are like many incidents in the "Master Thief" and related stories¹ in having the same types of character and situation and the same tricks and methods of the rogue.

¹ Compare the Swalpo jest of stealing a man's coat off his back cited above, and the theft of the breeches in "The Two Thieves" (Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. 41). Waspe tells Cokes, "You'd lose your breech an 'twere loose" (*B. F.*, III, 1, *Works*, II, 179). With the

Again, Greene's works furnish some passages similar to parts of *Bartholomew Fair*, and Jonson probably got some suggestions from Greene for the treatment of Overdo and Waspe.

A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher (1592) has a story called "A pleasant Tale of a Country Farmer," etc., which is similar to the jest of *Sir Thomas More* and *Bartholomew Fair*:

It was told me for a truth that not long since here in London, there laie a country Farmar, with diuers of his neighbours about Law matters, amongst whom, one of them going to Westminster Hall, was by a Foyst stript of all the pence in his purse, and comming home, made great complaint of his misfortune: some lamented his losse, and others exclaimed against the Cutpurses, but this Farmer he laught loudly at the matter, and said such fooles as could not keep their purses no surer, were well serued, and for my part quoth hee, I so much scorne the Cutpurses, that I would thank him hartily that would take paines to foyst mine: well saies his neighbor you know not what hands Fortune may light in your owne lap: tush quoth the Farmar, heeres fortie pounds in this purse in gold, the proudest Cutpurse in England win and weare it:¹ as thus he boasted, there stood a subtile Foyst by and heard all, smiling to himselfe at the folly of the proude Farmar, and vowed to haue his purse, or venture his necke for it.

After vainly trying for some time to rob the farmer, the cutpurse secures his arrest on a false charge. A pretended quarrel is picked with the officers of the law by the cutpurses, and a riot follows in which the farmer is robbed and afterward carried to prison. A note is sent by the cutpurse to say that he mistook the man,

which note the Officer shewed him, and bad him pay his fees and go his waies: the poore Country-man was content with that, and put his hand in his pocket to feele for his purse, and God wot there was none

robbery of Waspe's box compare Grimm's story of the Master Thief's stealing the horse and leaving the rider in the saddle. Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, pp. 62 f., comments on the connection of the "Master Thief" stories with rogue literature; Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, pp. 271-81, 364, 365, and Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 41-53, give versions of the "Master Thief" and discuss it. Cf. Campbell, *Seven Sages of Rome*, pp. lxxxv-xc for the various versions of the related "Rhampsinitus" story.

¹In *The Thirde Part of Conny-catching* (1592), "How a Gentleman was craftily deceined of a Chaine," etc., the gentleman, after a cutpurse who is cultivating his acquaintance "tolde a very solemne tale, of villanies and knaueries in his owne profession"—as Lifter and Nightingale do,—grows fearful and puts his chain and purse in his sleeve, saying, "If the Conny-catcher get it héere, let him not spare it." The cutpurse smiles at this "rash securitie." Accomplices pick a quarrel with the cutpurse, and in the tumult that follows, the gentleman is robbed, just as the farmer is robbed here, and as Waspe is in *Bartholomew Fair* (Greene's *Works* [Grosart] X, 179, and *B. F.*, IV, 3).

and with that fetching a great sigh he sayd, alas maisters I am vndone, my purse in this fraie is taken out of my pocket, and ten pounds in gold in it besides white money. . . . Well, saies his neighbor, who shall smile at you now? the other day when I lost my purse you laught at mee: the Farmer brooke all, and sat malecontent, and borowed money of his neighbors to paye the Sargiant, and had a learning I beleue [n]euer after to braue the cutpurse.¹

We have here the confidence of the farmer and his boasting, in the vein of Suresbie, Cokes, and Waspe, that he cannot be robbed; the acceptance of the challenge by a cutpurse, who like Edgworth overhears; the free-for-all fight planned by the cutpurses just as in the robbery of Waspe; and in the end the victim sitting malcontent like Waspe, his folly brought home to him. This, however, while offering some new parallels to *Bartholomew Fair*, is not so close to Jonson as is the anecdote of Sir Thomas More.

Alden² points out the resemblance between the account of Nightingale and Edgworth's performances and Greene's *Thirde Part of Conny-catching*, "An other Tale of a coosening companion," etc., where two cutpurses sing ballads while their companions rob the crowd. The result also is somewhat similar in the two cases. Greene goes on to say:

But one angrie fellow, more impacient then al the rest, he falles vpon the ballade singer, and beating him with his fists well fauouredly, sayes if he had not listened his singing, he had not lost his purse, and therefore woulde not be otherwise perswaded, but that they two and the cutpurses were compacted together. The rest that had lost their purses likewise . . . begin to tug & hale the ballad singers, when one after one the false knaues began to shrinke awaie with y^e purses. By meanes of some officer then being there presēt, the two roges wer had before a Iustice.³

In exactly the same way, Overdo, who by his harangue collects a crowd and unwittingly causes Cokes to be robbed the first time, is accused of being an accomplice of the cutpurses and is beaten by Waspe, whereupon the cutpurse escapes; and after the second robbery of Cokes Overdo is put in the stocks under sus-

¹ Greene's *Works* (Grosart), X, pp. 213-16.

² *Barth. Fair* (*Yale Studies in Eng.* XXV), p. 193.

³ Greene's *Works* (Grosart), X, pp. 162, 163.

picion of complicity. Thus Edgworth remarks when Overdo begins, "Slight, he will call company, you shall see, and put us into doings presently;" and Waspe in beating Overdo cries:¹

Here is a rogue is the bawd o' the cut-purses whom I will beat to begin with. . . . You are the Patrico, are you? the patriarch of the cut-purses? You share, sir, they say; let them share this with you.²

Besides the *Sir Thomas More* there is another play, of uncertain date, that may offer parallels to the cutpurse scenes of *Bartholomew Fair*.³ In the play introduced in the fifth act of Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough* there is a resemblance to the cutpurse scenes of *Bartholomew Fair*. This play and the one in *Sir Thomas More* are introduced similarly, as Fleay points out. A list of plays is given from which one is chosen, a giver of a feast takes a part in the performance, and the play is not completed. The play in *The Mayor of Queenborough*, however, is more like the puppet-show in *Bartholomew Fair*, in that to the clown Simon as to the clown Cokes everything seems very real, and each enters into the burlesque with a naïve faith in the high seriousness of the scenes. There is a similarity also in the bringing of a Puritan upon the scene in each, and in the representation on the stage of the Puritans' hostility to plays. In the play, *The Cheater and the Clown*,⁴ chosen by the Mayor of Queenborough, there are two cheaters and a clown. The clown, "but a fool of a yeoman's eldest son," like Cokes has two purses, and, keeping his hands on them, dares the cheaters with a boastful self-confidence:

¹ *B. F.*, II, 1, *Works*, II, pp. 168, 170.

² Greene also furnishes a fairly close parallel to the title of Jonson's ballad, "A Caveat for Cut-purses." In *The Second Part of Conny-catching* (*Works*, X, pp. 106, 107), there are the words: "It boots not to tell their course . . . at Bartholomew faire. . . . Therefore let all men take this caveat . . . that they tak[e] great care for their purse;" and (p. 120), "Therefore let this be a caveat to all . . . that they beware of the gentleman Lift."

³ Autolycus of *The Winter's Tale* belongs to the same general class as the rogues of *Bartholomew Fair*. Like Lanthorn Leatherhead, he is a chapman who has given puppet-shows on biblical subjects; he has "compassed a motion of the Prodigal Son." Like Nightingale he enters singing his songs and his chapman cries, robs the clown once, appears soon after before his victim again, warns him against cozeners, sings ballads to his victims, in which they take a part, gives a list of ballads, sells his ballads to the clown, who, like Cokes, "would not stir his petticoates till he had both tune and words," etc. The interest aroused by *The Winter's Tale* in these typical vagabonds may have influenced Jonson.

⁴ *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 104.

⁵ *M. of Q.*, V, 1.

They say there is a foolish kind of thing called a cheater abroad, that will gull any yeoman's son of his purse, and laugh in his face like an Irishman. I would fain meet with some of these creatures: I am in as good state to be gulled now as ever I was in my life, for I have two purses at this time about me, and I would fain be acquainted with that rascal that would take one of them now.

The clown is, of course, quickly robbed, and he cries before he discovers the robbery, "Still would I meet with these things called cheaters," just as Suresbie repeats his boast after he has been robbed. Then Simon, the mayor, censures the clown in the manner of Suresbie and Waspe:

A scurvy hobby-horse, that could not leave his money with me, having such a charge about him! A pox on thee for an ass!

And Simon insists on taking the clown's place in the play, daring the cheaters to rob him.

Come on, sir, [he cries,] let us see what your knaveship can do at me now: you must not think you have a clown on hand.

Simon's scorn and boasting, like Suresbie's and Waspe's, are soon punished. The cheater, throwing meal into Simon's face, takes his purse, and Simon soon learns that the players were genuine thieves.¹

We have here the same general conception as in *Bartholomew Fair*, one stupid clown's seeking to pit himself against cheaters, only to lose, and a shrewder clown's censuring the first and, with still greater self-confidence and boasting, essaying to guard against the same fate, only to fall a more notable victim. In the representation of the first robbery as well as the second, and in the types of characters and the kind of incidents with which the motive

¹ Greene in *The Second Part of Conny-catching*, under "A merry tale how a Miller had his purse cut in New gate market" (Grosart, X, 110-13), tells how one cutpurse throws meal into his fellow's eyes, and how the victim is robbed on coming to help the cutpurse get the meal out of his eyes. That Middleton may have gotten a suggestion from Greene for *The Mayor of Queenborough* is rendered probable by the fact that in *Your Five Gallants*, IV, 8, he has another parallel to Greene. Pyamont comes in cursing his luck for going to the aid of Pursenet, who had pretended to swoon, since by it he lost his purse, from which he had not once before taken his hand. Greene, *Second Part of Conny-catching*, in "A kinde conceit of a Foist performed in Paules" (Grosart, X, pp. 114 ff.), tells how a farmer who has kept his hand on his purse is robbed by one cutpurse while he goes to the help of another who has pretended to faint. In *The Winter's Tale*, when Autolycus robs the clown first (IV, 3), he accomplishes the robbery by lying down as if he were in a faint as the result of a beating and thus calling the clown to his aid. Chandler, *Lit. of Rog.*, p. 237, calls attention to the parallel between *The Winter's Tale* and Greene.

is worked out in *The Mayor of Queenborough*, there is a greater likeness to *Bartholomew Fair* than to *Sir Thomas More*. The plays, however, have only the general motive in common; there is none of the correspondence in language and detail that exists between *Bartholomew Fair* and *Sir Thomas More*. Consequently, even if it were certain that *The Mayor of Queenborough* in some form came before *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson could not have gone to it for anything more than the suggestion to combine certain typical characters with a situation borrowed from *Sir Thomas More*.

After Jonson had written *Bartholomew Fair* and possibly after Middleton had written *The Mayor of Queenborough*, the two great dramatizers of purse-cutting combined their labors in *The Widow* (1615-16)¹ to produce another episode of purse-cutting, with much of its material recalling the same scene of *Sir Thomas More* that Jonson had used in *Bartholomew Fair*. The situation in this scene of *The Widow* (the latter half of IV, 2) is that of *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I, V, 5. In each play the quack surgeon, a barber in one and an empiric in the other, uses his shop and trade to draw victims for his purse-cutting. In *Promos and Cassandra* the patient's eyes are first treated, and, as he is robbed, he is told to keep them tightly closed; then his teeth receive attention, the barber commenting on his foul breath. After the robbery the barber deplores the loss of the purse and accuses one who has just left the room. The incidents of *The Widow* are the same, except that the episodes of the eyes and teeth are parceled out to the justice and his clerk, whom the quack and his assistant respectively rob, and that the barber accuses the actual thief while the quack of *The Widow* accuses a stranger. But the discovery of the loss in *The Widow*, the censure of the loser, and the return of that censure upon the censurer are from *Sir Thomas More* and *Bartholomew Fair*. As the foolish justice Brandino goes to pay the quack, he cries out with the same words—natural enough, however—that Suresbie and Cokes used, "My purse is gone." Then the censure of the master by the servant as

¹ What follows seems to me to support the assignment of this date to *The Widow*, and perhaps to strengthen the claim that Johnson had a part in the play.

in *Bartholomew Fair* follows. The resemblances of the following to what has been given are evident enough:

Bran[*dino*]. 'Tis gone, i' faith; I've been among some rascals.

Mar[*tino*, the clerk]. And that's a thing

I ever gave you warning of, master; you care not

What company you run into.

Bran. Lend me some money; chide me anon, I prithee.

Mar. My purse is gone too!

Bran. How?

I'll ne'er take warning more of thee while I live then;

Thou art an hypocrite, and art not fit

To give good counsel to thy master, that

Canst not keep from ill company thyself.

Lat[*rocinio*, the quack]. This is most strange, sir;¹ both your purses gone!

Mar. Sir, I'd my hand on mine when I came in.

Lat. . . . I ha' known purses gone,

And the thief stand and look one full i' th' face,

As I may do your worship and your man now.²

The end of the scene and of the cutpurse's part is an adaptation from *Bartholomew Fair*. There Justice Overdo, in one of his foolish impulses, gives Quarlous his hand and seal to an unfilled warrant,³ which Quarlous uses to release Mistress Grace from the power of her guardian, Overdo himself, at the same time forcing her to pay him for this good deed.⁴ So Justice Brandino, when he cannot pay the quack, gives him his hand and seal, which are used to release from prison a fellow rogue and Martia, who has been committed by the justice; while the quack gets in recompense for his charity all the money that Martia has.

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¹ Compare the Mayor's use of the same expression when Suresbie discovers the loss of his purse, p. 7 above.

² Compare Lifter's statement to his prospective victim, Suresbie, *Sir Th. M.*, p. 10.

There be, sir, diuers very cunning fellows,
That, while you stand and looke them in the face,
Will haue your purse.

³ *B. F.*, V, 2.

⁴ *B. F.*, V, 3, *Works*, II, p. 209.

A PROBABLE SOURCE FOR SOME OF THE LORE OF FITZHERBERT'S BOOK OF HUSBANDRY

The following hitherto unnoticed scrap from a flyleaf of the well-known fifteenth-century manuscript, Cotton Galba E IX, of the British Museum collection, is worth noticing because of its apparently direct connection with *Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry*, and of its indirect influence as a source of certain references in Elizabethan literature.

On fol. 113b we read:

The horss hath XXV propertes, þat ys to say, he hath iiij off a lyon, iiij of an ox, iiij off an asse, iiij off an hare, and iiij of a fox, and v of a woman. After a lyon, prowde-herted, brod-brestid, iiij good legis, and a stowte stern; after the ox, out-ribbed, low-brawned, schort-pasterd, and well ifed; after the asse, well mouthid, well wynded, streght-bakked, and rownd foted; after the hare, steep yen, wyght off fote, tornyng on litell grownde, ii god filettis; after the fox, prik-eryd, fayr-sided, schorte trottyng, and a litell hed; after a woman, mery of chere, brod-buttokyd, and esy to lep on, good at long-rynnynge, and steryng vnder a man.

Heded as an ox;
Tayled as [a] fox;
Comly as a kyng;
Nekkyd as a dukyng;
Mowythyd as a kliket;
Witted [as] a wodkok
Wylled as a wedercoke.¹

Another similar piece is preserved in the British Museum MS Lansdowne 762 (f. 16), which was printed by Wright and Halliwell (*Reliquiae Antiquae* I. 232, 233):

A good horssse must have XV propertyes and condicions, that is to witte, iii of a man, iii of a woman, iii of a ffox, iii of an hare, and iii of an asse. Of a man, bolde, prowde and hardy; of a woman, fayre-brested, fayre of here, and esy to lepe vpon; of a fox, a faire tayle, short eres, with a good trotte; of an hare, a grete eye, a drye heed, and wele rennyng;

¹Printed by W. H. Hulme, in *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, London, 1907 (*EETS*, Extra Series C, *Introd.*, p. xxv).

of an asse, a bigge chynne, a flat leg, and¹ a good houe. Wele traveled wymen or wele traveled horssees were neuer good.

It is not easy to determine which of these pieces represents the original or the more primitive form. From the point of view of simplicity, one would be forced to say the Lansdowne version is earlier, and that the Cotton version is a later and slightly modified form of this interesting bit of farriers' lore. And it may be assumed with some degree of certainty that the description of the qualities of a good horse in the *Book of Husbandry* is derived, with considerable additions and modifications, from the Lansdowne or Cotton recension. The account in Fitzherbert runs as follows:²

71. The Properties of horses.

And first thou shalt knowe, that a good horse hath liiii propertyes, that is to say, ii of a man, ii of a bauson or a badger, iiiii of a lyon, ix of an oxe, ix of an hare, ix of a foxe, ix of an asse, and x of a woman.

72. The two properties, that a horse hath of a man.

The fyrste is, to haue a proude harte; and the seconde is, to be bolde and hardy.

73. The .ii. propertyes of a bauson.

The fyrste is, to haue a whyte rase or a ball in the foreheed; the seconde, to haue a whyte fote.

74. The iiiii properties of a lyon.

The fyrste is, to haue a brode breste; the seconde, to be styffe-docked; the thyrd, to be wyld in countenance; the fourthe, to haue four good legges.

75. The ix propertyes of an oxe.

The fyrste is, to be brode-rybbed; the .ii., to be lowe-brawned; the thyrd, to be shorte-pasturned; the iiiii, to haue graatte senewes; the fyfte, to be wyde betwene the challes; the syxte is, to haue great nosethrylles; the vii, to be bygge on the chyn; the viii, to be fatte and well fedde; the ix, to be vpryghte standynge.

76. The ix propertyes of an hare.

The fyrste is, styffe-eared; the second, to haue greate eyen; the thyrd, round eyen; the fourth, to haue a leane heed; the .v., to haue leane knees; the syxte, to be wyght on foote; the vii, to turne vpon a lyttell grounde; the viii, to haue shorte buttockes; the ix to haue two good fyllettes.

¹Italicized resolutions of manuscript abbreviations in the reprints are not indicated here.

²Cf. *The Book of Husbandry*. By Master Fitzherbert. Reprinted from the edition of 1534, and edited, etc., by Rev. Walter W. Skeat for the Dialect Society, London, 1882, pp. 63-65.

77. The ix propertyes of a foxe.

The fyrste is, to be prycke-eared; the second, to be lyttell-eared; the thyrd, to be rounde-syded; the fourthe, to be syde-tayled; the fyfte, to be shorte-legged; the syxte, to be blacke-legged; the .vii., to be shorte-trottyng; the viii., to be well coloured; the .ix., to have a lyttel heed.

78. The ix propertyes of an asse.

The fyrste is, to be small-mouthed; the seconde, to be longe-rayned; the iii., to be thyn-crested; the fourthe, to be streyght-backed; the fyfth, to haue small stones; the syxte, to be lathe-legged; the vii., to be roundefoted; the eyght, to be holowe-foted; the ix, to have a toughe houe.

79. The x properties of a woman.

The fyrst is, to be mery of chere; the seconde, to be well-paced; the thyrd, to haue a brode foreheed; the fourth, to haue brode buttockes; the fyfth, to be harde to warde; the syxte, to be easie to lepe vpon; the vii., to be good at a longe iourneye; the viii., to be well sturring vnder a man; the ix, to be alway besye with the mouth; the tenth, euer to be chowyng on the brydell.

Now, part of Fitzherbert's description is virtually reproduced by Robert Greene in an interesting conversation between Slipper and Ateukin in his *Scottish Hystorie of James the Fourth*, I, ii, 476 ff.¹ In commenting on the "bille" presented by Slipper which recites at length his good qualities as a servant, Ateukin, who is looking for such a person, says, among other things:

Art thou so good in keeping a horse? I pray thee tell me how many good qualities hath a horse?

Slip. Why, so, sir: a horse hath two properties of a man, that is, a proude heart, and a hardie stomacke; foure properties of a Lyon, a broad brest, a stiffe docket,—hold your nose, master,—a wild countenance, and 4 good legs; nine properties of a Foxe, nine of a Hare, nine of an Asse, and ten of a woman.

Ateu. A woman! why, what properties of a woman hath a Horse?

Slip. O, maister, know you not that? Draw your tables, and write what wise I speake. First, a merry countenance; second, a soft pace; third, a broad forehead; fourth, broad buttockes; fift, hard of warde; sixt, easie to leape vpon; seuenth, good at long journey; eight, mouing vnder a man; ninth, alway busie with the mouth; tenth, euer chewing on the bridle.

¹Cf. *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, edited by J. Churton Collins. Oxford, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 102 f. The editor also draws attention (p. 353) to Greene's source, that is, *The Book of Husbandry*.

We have no doubt to look to some such source for the original of the following stanza in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, describing Adonis' horse:

Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long,
Broad breast, full eye, small head and nostril wide,
High crest, short ears, straight legs and passing strong,
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide;
Look, what a horse should have he did not lack,
Save a proud rider on so proud a back.¹

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¹ *Venus and Adonis*, Eversley ed., 295-300.

A NOTE ON *SIR THOPAS*

In Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer, in *The Rime of Sire Thopas*, occurs the following passage:

Into his sadel he clombe anon,
And priked over stile and ston
 An elf-quene for to espie,
Til he so long had ridden and gone,
That he fond in a privee wone
 The contree of Faerie.
Wherin he soughte North and South,
And oft he spied with his mouth
 In many a forest wilde;
For in that contree n'as ther non,
That to him dorst ride or gon,
 Neither wife ne childe.¹

It is to the italicized lines that I wish to call attention. It is clear that Tyrwhitt thought something was wrong with them. In his note on the passage he says: "whether the two lines and part of another which I have inserted before 'wilde' from other MSS be genuine, I will not be positive, but it is very clear, I think, that something is wanting."²

In 1888 Kölbing, in a discussion of *Sir Thopas* in which he corrected and casually reviewed a dissertation on the subject, remarked: "Bennewitz hat unser gedicht so wenig eingehend studirt, dass er nicht einmal beachtet dass die für *so wilde* bei Tyrwhitt eingesetzten drei verse sind in keiner hs. finden und wohl erst von diesem zugeichtet sind."³

In Skeat's *Oxford Chaucer* we read: "Instead of this short line [so wilde] Tyrwhitt has 'wherin he sought' [etc.]. But none of our seven MSS agrees with this version, nor are the lines found in the black-letter editions."⁴

These two quotations amount to the same thing. Both Kölbing and Skeat suspected Tyrwhitt of having filled out the apparently

¹ *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer* (London, 1775-78), Vol. II, p. 234, ll. 13728 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 317.

³ *Engl. Stud.*, XI, p. 503.

⁴ Vol. V, p. 190.

deficient text on his own authority, and of having tried to conceal his responsibility by an indefinite reference to "other MSS." And in the absence of evidence to the contrary Skeat's statement that the three lines in question appear in neither manuscript nor black-letter edition would appear decisive. As a matter of fact, however, the three lines were in the folio used by Tyrwhitt in establishing his text. This is easily proved by a reference to the book itself, catalogued in the Harvard University Library as "Tyrwhitt's collations for his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*." This edition, as was pointed out to me by Professor Kittredge, is that of 1687, number seven in Skeat's list of the "First eight editions of the collected works of Chaucer."¹ The folio volume has been cut apart, interleaved, and annotated by Tyrwhitt. With painstaking care he corrected bad spellings, restored words dropped through printer's errors, repunctuated the text, and bracketed doubtful lines. On the blank pages he indicated the MS variants, recording the different readings so fully that had he printed his notes as well as his text much of the work of future editors would have been anticipated. Thus besides marking these three lines as doubtful, he made this entry on the page inserted: "Want in C. 1: C. 2: C: A. 1. 2. Ca. 2."²

Tyrwhitt, then, certainly did not insert these three lines for the first time. At the worst he simply included in his own version a passage which someone else had already made current, and which seemed to him to fill a break in the manuscripts. The question then arises, where did this passage originate? The 1532 edition, Skeat's No. 1, reads:

Tyl he so longe hath ridden and gon
That he fonde in a priue wone
The countre of Fayrie. So wylde
For in that countre nas ther non
Neither wyfe ne chylde.³

All the others until 1602 retain this reading, with slight changes of spelling. In this, however, the sixth in the list, we find the

¹ See Skeat's reprint of the 1532 edition, pp. xv and xvi; and elsewhere in his edition of Chaucer.

² For explanation of the abbreviations see Vol. I, pp. xxii and xxiii, of Tyrwhitt's *Canterbury Tales*.

³ Skeat's reprint, p. 188, col. 1, ll. 31 ff.

intrusion of the three lines which Tyrwhitt had marked as doubtful in his own annotated 1687 folio. This 1602 version was the second edited by Thomas Speght,—the first had appeared in 1598,—who says in his dedication to Sir Robert Cecil: "Now therefore . . . both by old written copies, and by Ma. William Thynns praise-worthy labours, I have reformed the whole worke, whereby Chaucer for the most part is restored to his owne Antiquitie." Again, in the address "To the Readers," he says that with the help of "M. Francis Thynn" he has "the text by old copies corrected." This then, Speght's 1602 edition, was evidently intended to represent the most advanced stage of Chaucerian scholarship, and its editor was proud of the contributions it contained. Perhaps some day an "old copy" will turn up and show that Speght in his turn had authority for his additions to *Sir Thopas*; but till it does I believe it is safe to assume that either he or Thynne was responsible for the three lines that heretofore have been charged to the account of Tyrwhitt.

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